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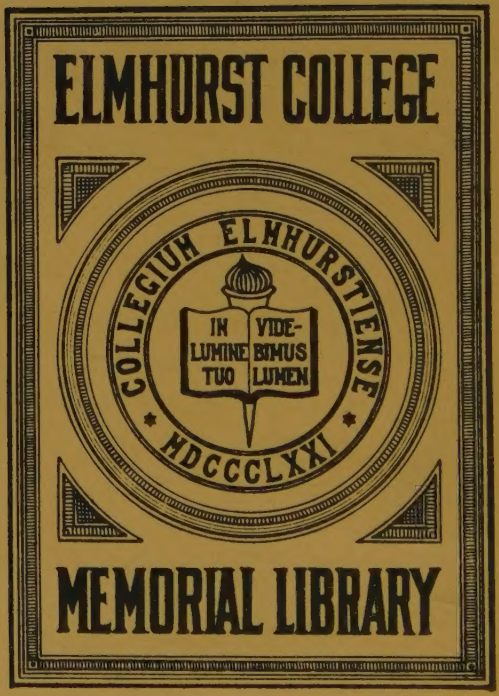
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MEN, WOMEN & MANNERS IN COLONIAL TIMES

SECOND EDITION

OTHER BOOKS BY MR. FISHER

THE MAKING OF PENNSYLVANIA

PENNSYLVANIA: COLONY AND COMMONWEALTH

THE EVOLUTION OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES

MEN, WOMEN & MANNERS IN COLONIAL TIMES . . . .

BY

SYDNEY GEO. FISHER

ILLUSTRATED WITH PHOTOGRAVURES AND WITH DECORATIONS BY EDWARD STRATTON HOLLOWAY

VOL. II

PHILADELPHIA & LONDON
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CHAPTER VIII

MANHATTAN AND THE TAPPAN ZEE

IN the days of Columbus and Verrazzano the shores of New York Harbor were shadowed by goodly oak-trees and inhabited by swarms of red men, who dressed in garments made of the feathers of birds, with strings of copper round their necks. They rushed to the shore with delight to welcome the first white men, "raising loud shouts of admiration and showing us where we could most securely land with our boat."

They must have seemed comical enough, these red men in their feathers looking like half-picked chickens; and the Dutch who succeeded them were also funny fellows.

In the vast sweep of the coast of North and South America for ten thousand miles along the Atlantic there is no spot equal to this narrow entrance between high hills which now

opens into the bay and harbor of New York with its cities and teeming millions. Spaniards, Portuguese, Dutchmen, Frenchmen, and Englishmen were searching from Greenland to Cape Horn for gold and the passage to China. The Spaniards robbed the temples of Mexico and Peru, and spread themselves along the West Indies, the Amazon, and the Paraguay, laughing at the Frenchman struggling with the ice and snow of the St. Lawrence, and the Englishman in the swamps of Virginia. Each believed he had the best; but the nation that secured that narrow entrance where the red men dressed in feathers would have it all.

Fortunately for mankind and civilization, Columbus discovered only the West Indies and South America, and left the North American continent free from the curse of the Spaniard. If when he set out from Palos he had adhered strictly to his theory and steered due west, he would have reached some point on the coast of North Carolina or Virginia, Spanish migration and conquest would have followed him, and the history of the United States would be very different from what it is. But from Palos he sailed far to the southwest to the Canary Islands; thence he took a westward course, and if he had maintained it he would still have reached the North American continent at some point in

Florida or Georgia. But when near the New World he followed the flight of birds, and sailed again towards the southwest, which took him and Spanish civilization to the West Indies, Mexico, and South America.

He never saw the North American continent, and died without knowing of its existence. The birds had shaped a mighty destiny. In 1497, five years after Columbus's first voyage, John and Sebastian Cabot discovered North America for England, an event of vaster significance and benefit in the progress of mankind and more worthy to be celebrated than the accident which inflicted Spanish cruelty, rapacity, and failure on the continent of South America.

A hundred years after the Cabots had given North America to Great Britain, the Dutch, having freed themselves from the dominion of Spain, became enterprising explorers; and Henry Hudson, an Englishman in their employ, entered both the Delaware and the Hudson River in the year 1609. By the merest good luck, England had only two years before, in 1607, taken advantage of the discovery of the Cabots to establish the Virginia colony at Jamestown, and had made a grant to the Virginia company of all the land from South Carolina to Halifax. This saved her title to the continent under the discovery of

the Cabots, which might have lapsed from failure to make a settlement and take actual possession. The Dutch were just too late. But, relying on Hudson's expedition, they claimed a right to all the territory near the two great rivers into which he had sailed.

That the English title was superior to the Dutch is now no longer doubted, and the question has been authoritatively settled by the courts of New York. It seems strange that the ancient Dutch occupation and the voyages of the Cabots and Hudson should become practical questions of modern times in a litigation of the New York elevated railways.

But even the law must have its romance, and in 1889 some owners of property on the Bowery brought a suit for damages against the Elevated Railway Company for cutting off the light, air, and access to their buildings. The railway replied that the Bowery was an old Dutch street which had been laid out and property sold upon it when the Dutch nation had lawful jurisdiction in New York, and under the Dutch law there could be no damages for cutting off light, air, and access. But the court decided that the Dutch had never had lawful possession of New York; their occupation was a mere trespass and intrusion on the English title, which had originated in the discovery of

the Cabots, and had been perfected by the grant and settlement of Virginia.*

In the year 1609, however, England had not fully awakened to her colonial opportunities, and allowed the Dutch to occupy the Hudson and the Delaware, and the French the St. Lawrence, without opposition. Against these two powerful nations, occupying important points on the continent, the British had only the miserable little colony in Virginia, dying of fever and ague.

The Dutch established themselves on the shores of the Hudson and the Delaware with a vigor which seemed to show that they would be the rulers of America. Brave little Holland had at that time only about two millions of people living at the mouth of the river Rhine, on a morass they had saved from the water by dikes, which they watched day and night. Their way was in the sea and their paths in the great waters. They built a thousand new ships every year, and the commerce of the world was at their feet.

At first their purpose at Manhattan and on the Delaware was merely to collect furs from the Indians, and they made no settlements.

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* Mortimer *vs.* N. Y. Elevated R. R., 6 N. Y. Supplement, 898.

They had not the strong instinct of the English for establishing themselves in a new country. They were traders, and their idea of colonization was merely to assist the commerce of Holland, and not to build a new empire. They pushed their explorations rapidly, but only where they could follow the water, and they made few attempts to penetrate inland.

Adriaen Block's ship, the Tiger, was burnt at Manhattan; but in the winter of 1613 he built a small vessel, forty-four feet long, called the Onrust, or Restless, with which he sailed into Long Island Sound. The whirlpool in the East River he named Hellegat, from a branch of the river Scheldt, in Zealand, and passed on as far eastward as Martha's Vineyard, naming the Connecticut the Versch, or Fresh River, calling Narragansett Bay, Nassau, and leaving his own name to Block Island. Cornelius Mey explored the Delaware and gave his name to one of its capes.

The company of merchants who had been given by the States General of Holland the exclusive right of trading in New Netherlands, as their American possessions were called, had no political power like the English colonizing companies. They were merely armed traders, who occupied the country for the purpose of securing its furs and products. But every English com-

pany was given a distinct political government, and this difference is significant of the qualities of the two nations and their instinctive intentions.

The Dutch were very peculiar people. Thrifty, shrewd, enterprising in everything relating to commerce, ingenious in labor-saving devices, and with a very practical sort of intelligence, there was nevertheless a pleasing love of ease about them which was sometimes almost comic. They were liberal in their opinions, and less inclined than the other nations of Europe to tyranny or intolerance. They loved to contemplate their comfort and prosperity while they smoked their pipes, and they were willing that the rest of the world should enjoy the same pleasure. Although frank in speech, they paid most extravagant compliments and gave flattering titles to everybody, and they were very fond of firing salutes and sending important messages by a trumpeter. When they corresponded with the little colony of the Pilgrim Fathers at Plymouth, their letter began, "Noble, Worshipful, Wise, and Prudent Lords, our Very Dear Friends."

They fought heroically for their independence against the Spaniard, and won the gratitude of the civilized world by driving him out of Northern Europe. But, their independence once at-

tained, they settled down to the substantial enjoyment of it and the commerce of the Indian seas, and have remained in that happy state ever since. They had no passion for conquest, and were not wandering over the earth with empires in their brains, like the Englishmen.

Their restful, contemplative qualities have been valuable material for humorous writers of other nations. The temptation to exaggerate them is almost irresistible, and immortalized Washington Irving in Mr. Knickerbocker's most veracious "History of New York."

When evening came upon the ocean a Dutch ship, we are told, always lay to, and the crew went to bed until morning. When a storm was approaching, the Dutch sailors climbed aloft to shorten sail, smoking their pipes, and in Holland distances were often measured by pipes instead of miles. Mr. Knickerbocker tells us how his ancestor, who was appointed to build a great cathedral, laid in as a preliminary a large stock of pipes and many pounds of the best Virginia tobacco, which he smoked peacefully for a year, contemplating the details of his mighty task before he began it.

When the privileges of the merchants who had been given the control of New Netherland expired, efforts were made to charter another and more powerful organization to take their

place, and in 1621 the great West India Company was established. There was already an East India Company, which controlled the Dutch trade and colonization in the seas of Asia, and to the West India Company were given America and Africa. By these two great corporations the Dutch hoped to accomplish their designs on the commerce of the world.

The English, with sounder instinct and foresight, created companies for each one of their colonies, and in each one of these the colonists themselves had an interest, and in some instances almost the entire control. But the West India Company was a vast armed commercial monopoly, with an admiral and a fleet to rule everything Dutch on two continents, and destroy the power of Spain and Portugal on the sea. It could subdue, colonize, govern, make treaties with native states and princes, build forts, appoint and discharge governors and officers, administer justice, promote trade, and encourage settlers, and all for the benefit of itself and the trade it should bring to the ports of Holland. There was no provision for popular assemblies or legislatures, which were given to all the British colonies except Georgia, nor were the Dutch colonists to have the right to vote in any form.

As an assistance to Holland in fighting Spain

the West India Company was very successful. It captured and sunk the Spanish vessels and robbed them of the gold and silver they were bringing from South America; but in other respects it was a failure, and ended its career in bankruptcy and ruin.

From the time of the discovery of the Hudson and the Delaware, in 1609, until 1626, the Dutch had used those rivers merely as places to collect furs. But the West India Company now attempted to establish a permanent colony, and, seeing the evident advantage of Manhattan Island as the seat of commerce for the whole continent, they bought it for themselves. Farms were laid out on the land now covered by the streets of New York; the point of land where the East River flows into the Hudson was fortified, and still retains its name of the Battery; and the people built their little houses behind it, near Wall Street.

It was an ideal spot for such traders as the Dutch, for Long Island, or Sewanhackey, so near at hand, was the mint of the Indians, where the wampum, or sewan, was manufactured from shells and distributed to all the country. The Dutch, by their close neighborhood, could purchase it cheap and use it to buy furs from the northern tribes.

The ruler of the colony was called the director,

who was instructed to govern as a father, and not as an executioner of the people. He had his council to give him advice, a koopman, or secretary, and the schout, who was a combination of sheriff and prosecuting attorney. Only Dutch vessels were allowed to trade with the colony or in any of the dominions of the company, and in this respect the Spanish colonial system seems to have been imitated.

Among the first settlers were some Walloons, French Protestants who had lived between Belgium and France, where they spoke the old French language and had been savagely persecuted. They settled on a bay at the northwestern extremity of Long Island called Wahle Bocht, or bay of foreigners, and now corrupted into Wallabout. Here the first child of the settlement was born, Sarah Rapelje, a name still known in New York.

The settlement subsequently extended itself to the western extremity of Long Island, and was called Breukelen, after a Dutch village on the Vecht.

But New Netherland did not thrive ; it barely supported itself; and the returns from it, contrasted with the spoil from Spanish fleets, disgusted the directors of the West India Company. Colonists did not flock to it as to the English colonies. The lower classes of Holland were

too thrifty and contented to care to risk themselves in a wilderness. They had no means to buy extensive tracts of land from the West India Company, and they did not care to come out on chance or sell themselves as redemptioners, like the bustling and apparently reckless Englishmen.

The company accordingly attempted to people New Netherland with capitalists, rich men who, in exchange for a large tract of land and the title of patroon, would agree to establish a little settlement of fifty people. A patroon who should succeed in establishing a city or town was to be given power to rule it and appoint the officers and magistrates; and he was given almost absolute power over his tract of land, and none of his people could leave his service without his consent.

All New Netherland was to be taken up in this way by patroons except the island of Manhattan, which the company reserved for itself; and to Manhattan must be brought all cargoes, to pay the duty of five per cent. before they were sent to Europe. The trade in furs the company kept for itself, and any fish the patroons exported must pay a duty of three guilders a ton.

This system of feudalism was more aristocratic than that in Holland itself. The colonists of New Netherland were held down by

a feudal as well as a mercantile monopoly. The mere statement of this condition of affairs shows at once the inefficiency of the Dutch as compared with the English colonial system, under which individual liberty, the right to vote, and representative government were freely allowed; and yet some of the descendants of the Dutch undertake to maintain that their ancestors introduced liberty and republican government in the United States.

There were many Dutch merchants who, having made fortunes in trade, were unable to join the landed aristocracy of Holland because the old nobility held nearly all the land outside of the towns, and were unwilling to part with any of it. The colonial patroon system appealed directly to this class, and a few of them, who also fulfilled the required condition of being members of the West India Company, took advantage of it. The intention, no doubt, was to turn large numbers of the rich Dutch middle classes into a colonial aristocracy, who would people, in time, the whole country. But the system defeated itself.

Kiliaen Van Rensselaer, a polisher of pearls and diamonds, secured for himself a large tract on the west side of the Hudson, near Albany. Michael Pauw obtained Staten Island and a tract called Hoboken-Hacking, opposite Manhattan,

where Jersey City now stands; and Pauw gave the name Pavonia to his great manor. Godyn and Blommaert had manors assigned them on the Delaware, near Cape May and Cape Henlopen.

Pavonia afforded Washington Irving much material for his history. When Argall, an English captain from Virginia, came to Manhattan to protest against the Dutch occupation of the country, the Pavonians, Irving says, smoked their pipes so violently that Argall, seeing nothing but what he supposed was a dense fog over Pavonia, never went near it.

These patroons were all directors in the company, had used their official position to obtain the best grants for themselves, and the indignation of the stockholders soon compelled them to disgorge. Van Rensselaer divided three-fifths of his manor with Moussart, Bissels, Laet, and others, and Godyn and Blommaert were also obliged to admit partners. But after all the dividing the result was that the land of New Netherland was in the possession of a few rich men, and immigrants were discouraged, for their condition would be a species of serfdom, with no prospect of advancement on what they already enjoyed in Holland.

A few settlers, however, were induced to come to the manors, and so far as the colony

was a mere trading station, it may be said to have flourished. The furs sent to Holland, which had been worth forty-six thousand guilders in 1626, were worth one hundred and forty-three thousand in 1632. One ship is said to have taken to Amsterdam a cargo of five thousand beaver skins. But agriculture languished; for the Dutch, or Swannekens, as the Indians called them, were such inveterate traders that they regarded a farm merely as a place on which to drive bargains.

In the course of time Van Rensselaer's patroonship became prosperous, and, in fact, it was the only one which was at first successful. The people are described as living amid the greatest profusion of everything, cultivating grain on rich land which was backed by forests full of turkeys and deer. Nuts and blackberries were abundant, and wild strawberries so plentiful that the jolly Swannekens went out into the fields "to lie down and eat them."

The more we examine the original records of New Netherland which the patient research of Mr. Brodhead has given us, the more the comic side becomes apparent. It is rather interesting to read these original sources and then turn to see how far they support Irving's statements in his Knickerbocker's "History of New York." He has exaggerated them, of course, and

introduced at times imaginary incidents to help out the drollery; but in many cases the exaggeration is comparatively slight, and he could have amused his readers by an almost literal account of what happened or by reprinting the original records, some of which are more quaint and amusing than anything his genius could invent.

Van Rensselaer was always proud to call himself the "first and oldest patroon," and, finding all sorts of interlopers interfering in his exclusive trade in furs, he resolved to protect his monopoly by force. He built a little fort on Beeren Island, at the southern end of his patroonship, and appointed the good Nicholas Koom as "wachtmeister," to defend his staple right at Rensselaer's Stein, as he called the fort. Koom was to collect a toll of five guilders on all vessels except those of the West India Company passing the fort, and compel them to strike their colors in homage.

Soon afterwards Govert Loockermans, in his yacht the Good Hope, was passing down the river, when a shot from the fort aroused him.

"Strike thy colors!" shouted Koom from the shore.

"For whom shall I strike?" replied Schipper Loockermans.

"For the staple right of Rensselaer's Stein."

"I strike for nobody but the Prince of

Orange or those by whom I am employed," said the valiant schipper.

Koom then loaded with ball, and the first shot went through the sail and shrouds, a second passed overhead, and the third pierced the princely colors. But Loockermans kept on. Irving has given the incident almost as it stands in the old record, and then adds that the only effect of the shots was to make Loockermans draw more vehemently on his pipe, and for miles he could be tracked down the Hudson by his fierce whiffs of smoke.

The three principal Governors of New Netherland—Wouter Van Twiller, William Kieft, and Peter Stuyvesant—are called by Irving Walter the Doubter, William the Testy, and Peter the Headstrong, and the most accurate historian could not improve very much on that description. Van Twiller, Irving tells us, was an elderly man, descended from a long line of burgomasters who had dozed away their lives on the bench of magistracy in Rotterdam; but the actual origin of Van Twiller would have lent itself equally well to Irving's purposes.

He had been a clerk in the West India Company's office, had married a niece of Van Rensselaer, the pearl polisher, and had been employed by the patroon in shipping cattle to the colony.

He was a most ridiculously irresolute and ignorant man to be put in charge of an important province, over which he had complete power, without any assembly of the people to check him.

He had scarcely finished smoking his first pipe after arriving on Manhattan Island when an English vessel arrived, whose supercargo, or koopman, was one Jacob Eelkens, who had formerly been in the service of the West India Company. Eelkens insisted that the English owned the country, and he intended to trade for furs up the river. Van Twiller refused him permission to proceed, ran up the Orange flag at Fort Amsterdam, and fired three guns. This firing of guns for the sake of the noise was a species of intimidation the Dutch were very fond of, and, together with their habit of blowing trumpets for the same purpose, gave Irving large opportunities for satire.

Eelkens proceeded, however, in spite of all the fuss; and instead of trying to stop him with a shot aimed at his ship, Van Twiller summoned the people before his door, broached a cask of wine, filled a bumper, and called on all who loved the Prince of Orange to drink and assist him against the Englishman. Meanwhile Eelkens and his ship were out of sight up the river, and the broad-bottomed Swannekens,

having finished their bumpers, returned to their homes laughing at their governor, but not much disturbed in their minds.

There was, however, in New Netherland one prominent person of whom Irving could not make fun. This was De Vries, a captain, ship-owner, patroon, explorer, and a man of energy and common sense. He was continually making voyages to the Delaware, or up the Hudson, or to and fro from Holland, laying out tracts of land for himself, stocking them with settlers, cows, and horses, and stopping at New Amsterdam to dine with Van Twiller and perform the surgical operation of inserting a little sense and courage into his head.

Dining and bumpers were an important part of governing at Manhattan. The day on which Eelkens escaped up the river, De Vries dined with Van Twiller and explained to him the situation. "If it had been my case," he said, "I should have helped him from the fort to some eight-pound iron beans; the English are of so haughty a nature that they think everything belongs to them." And finally, after reflection, it began to dawn on the Doubter that he could still send a ship in pursuit of Eelkens.

So a pinnace, a caravel, and a hoy sailed up the river to catch the koopman, and, finding him on

shore near Fort Orange, with his tent pitched and driving a brisk trade, the Dutch soldiers seized all his goods, sounding their trumpet meanwhile "in disgrace of the English," as they said.

De Vries now wanted to send his own ship, the Squirrel, through Hell Gate to trade with the Puritans in New England. But Van Twiller had learnt how to be a governor, and ordered the ballast to be thrown out of the Squirrel. When De Vries protested, he was informed that "all princes and potentates" were accustomed to search vessels, and it was important to see if there was anything in the bottom of the ship subject to the company's tax.

Instead of firing in the air this time, Van Twiller trained the guns of Fort Amsterdam on the Squirrel, until De Vries, rushing to him in the fort where he stood, exclaimed, "The land is full of fools; if you want to shoot, why did you not shoot at the Englishman who violated your river against your will?" The Doubter was again in doubt, and De Vries and the Squirrel, with its ballast restored, passed out through Hell Gate, followed by a yacht which Van Twiller sent to watch them.

In order that the colony might be more con-

fused and unsuccessful, the patroons began to quarrel with the company. They wanted, they said, to have their own monopoly of the fur trade. The company could have Manhattan Island to themselves if they liked, but each patroon should have a monopoly of trade on his own land; and they were continually begging and teasing for this privilege.

In 1640 smaller patroons were created, and each person who brought out five colonists was called a master and given two hundred acres of land. Commercial privileges were extended to all freemen, and trade was made free to all the world, which, however, merely meant that any one could trade if he carried his products in one of the company's ships.

At the same time the Reformed Church of the United Provinces was established as the religion of the province, an act which somewhat conflicts with the claim that the Dutch taught America the principle of separation of church and state. At the services of this church Indian wampum was put in the collection-plate, and wampum was the universal currency of New Netherland, as tobacco was in Virginia.

De Vries and Van Twiller dined and drank together without the slightest ill will. When De Vries arrived one day from the sea, with his ship badly leaking, he was cordially welcomed

by the governor, and the ship hauled out for repairs in Smid's Vleye, or Smith's Valley, which was the name given to a marsh between East River and Pearl and Fulton Streets. Maagde Padtje, or Maiden's Lane, was in later days extended over this marsh, and a market-house built, called the Vleye Market, or market in the swamp, which was known by the English long after the Revolution as the Fly Market.

A few days after De Vries's ship was hauled out, he and Van Twiller went across the river to Pavonia, the patroonship of Michael Pauw, where Van Voorst had just arrived to take charge, bringing with him some "good Bordeaux wine." They took with them Dominie Bogardus, minister of the Dutch church, who had become an important man at Manhattan. Van Twiller, we are told, was always "glad to taste good wine." What were the tastes of De Vries and the dominie we are not informed, but they went with Van Twiller.

Van Voorst was delighted to see them, and the dominie and Van Twiller were soon quarrelling about a murder which had been recently committed in Pavonia; but that was soon settled, and everybody had such a good time that, when they were returning to Manhattan, Van Voorst fired a salute in their honor from a little swivel gun in front of his house. But a spark caught

in the thatch of his roof, and his guests were compelled to see the whole establishment in which they had been so hospitably entertained burnt to the ground.

Soon after the constable at Manhattan gave a parting banquet to his friends, who were returning to Holland in the Seven Stars. Tables and benches were arranged under a tent in the fort at the Battery overlooking the bay which we all so often cross in going to New York, and while the people were feasting, the trumpeter, we are told, began to blow.

This was that same valiant trumpeter, Corlear, of whom Irving makes so much. But words passed, because the koopman of the ship and the koopman of the cargoes "scolded Corlaer the trumpeter." Whereupon "Corlaer the trumpeter" turned upon his scolders and gave them a drubbing, chasing them to their homes, where they got their swords and came back for vengeance. But they indulged themselves in nothing but "many foolish words," and the next morning, after having slept it off, "they feared the trumpeter more than they sought him."

So Van Twiller passed along in his administration, happy, festive, unconscious of his shortcomings, enriching himself at the company's expense, and getting for his own, among other

tracts of land, the little island which is still called, in his honor, Governor's Island. Before he got it the Indians had named it Paggauck, and the Dutch called it Nooten "because excellent nut trees grew there."

It was in 1658 that the Doubter's administration came to an end, and by that time Fort Amsterdam was "open on every side except at the stone point," the church and houses were out of repair, it was difficult to discover where the magazine for merchandise had stood, the ships were rotting, only one of the three windmills was in operation, the five bouweries of the company were untenanted, and their cattle could not be found. But Van Twiller was the largest landholder in the province not a patroon. He owned nearly all the islands in both rivers, herds of cattle stocked his farms, and a few days after he was superseded he rented one of the untenanted company bouweries for two hundred and fifty guilders a year.

His successor, William Kieft the Testy, had been a bankrupt merchant, whose portrait, according to the laudable custom of the time, had been hung upon the gallows of his city in Holland. Afterwards he had been sent to ransom Christians in Turkey, and left some of them in bondage for the sake of leaving a larger balance of the ransom money in his own pocket. Less

easy-going and uncertain than Van Twiller, and supposed to be more discreet and sober, the bustling and testy Kieft was nevertheless a most inquisitive and rapacious governor, and Irving is guilty of no exaggeration when he describes him as ruling by proclamations.

As a new broom which was attempting to sweep up the litter left by Van Twiller, he fired a proclamation at every abuse. The company officials must not carry on private trade in furs, there must be no secret traffic with the New Englanders, no guns or powder sold to the Indians, and all sailors must remain on their ships after nightfall. Proclamation after proclamation was poured out against theft, perjury, calumny, and "all other immoralities," against selling wine "except at a decent price," and the people were forbidden to leave Manhattan without passports. It was a riotous, disorderly community over which testy William had to rule, and murder, mutiny, and loose morality seem to have been rife among the people.

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But it is a little unfair to laugh at Kieft for his proclamations. There were no legislature and no laws in New Netherland, and the orders or proclamations issued by the governor had to supply their place, as in the Spanish colonies.

De Vries was still coming and going, and dined with Kieft even more regularly than with

his predecessor. In fact, the pair ruled the province between them. De Vries, we are compelled to state, had been instrumental in removing Van Twiller; for in one of his voyages to Holland he had not hesitated to tell of the sort of government which was carried on by his good friend of bumpers and dinners.

But it is not unlikely that Van Twiller bore him no ill will for this, and may have assented to it to give his friend a little importance with the authorities in Holland. He had got all that was to be had out of his office, and it was no more than fair that he should retire to his bouwery, rented from the company for two hundred and fifty guilders a year, and give others a chance.

Before Van Twiller's reign was cut short, De Vries had secured from him a fine tract of land on Staten Island, and in September, 1638, he sailed from the Texel with colonists to settle on it. They arrived off Sandy Hook in midwinter, and the Dutch captain seeing the shore covered with snow, and having only "old false charts" of the entrance, suggested that they return to the West Indies, where they could pass a pleasant winter and sail back to New Netherland in the spring.

The Dutch seem always to have had a fancy for lingering in the West Indies. In the voyage

from Holland to Manhattan they often passed down by the Azores and Canary Islands and then across into the Caribbean Sea, anchoring at their leisure in pleasant places, whence they would sail north to Manhattan between the Bahamas and Bermuda. One ship is said to have made so many of these anchorages and stopped to fish so often that she was six months in making the voyage.

But some of the colonists on De Vries's ship, being within sight of their destination, thought it was hardly worth while to go back. They had heard that De Vries had once taken his own ship into Manhattan at night, so they asked him to be their pilot, and he steered safely up to Fort Amsterdam, where there was great rejoicing, because no ship was expected at that time of year, and Kieft welcomed him and helped to send his people to Staten Island.

Two years afterwards De Vries took it into his head to explore the Hudson, and on the shores of the Tappan Zee found a beautiful tract of land which suited him exactly. He soon had a colony on it, and named it Vriesendael. It was his favorite, and he spent many years there, not neglecting, however, frequent trips to see Kieft at Manhattan.

Among the first proclamations which Kieft issued was one aimed at the Swedes on the Del-

aware. The Dutch had been able to establish something like actual settlement and colonization on the Hudson, but on the Delaware they still remained traders, passing to and fro in their ships to collect the furs, and not making much of an attempt to occupy the country. Sweden was at this time looking about for worlds to conquer, and her people entered the Delaware in considerable numbers. They were better colonists than the Dutch, and settled themselves along the shores of the bay and river as far up as Philadelphia, while the Dutch scolded and stormed at them in vain.

Peter Minuit, a renegade Dutchman, was one of the leaders of the Swedes. "I make known to you, Peter Minuit," said Kieft, in one of his proclamations, "who call yourself commander in the service of Her Royal Majesty of Sweden, that the whole South River in New Netherland has been many years in our possession, and has been secured by us with forts above and below and sealed with our blood;" and he goes on with much bluster and flourish to hint of the terrible things that might happen to the Swedes if they persisted in their trespassing. But the Swedes stayed, and far outnumbered the Dutch, driving them out of the beaver trade, and the Dutch became mere interlopers in territory occupied by the Swedes.

In the same way the Dutch attempted to control the Connecticut River, where the Massachusetts people under the leadership of Hooker had settled. The coat of arms of Holland was nailed to a tree at the mouth of the Connecticut, as a token of possession. This was a method always adopted by the Dutch and some other nations when claiming new territory. It was a pompous flourish like the language of some of their proclamations.

The French often buried in the ground lead plates on which their supposed rights were engraved, in the hope, apparently, that when afterwards accidentally dug up they would be a proof of occupation. The English never resorted to any of these formal methods, and instead had a way of sitting down in new countries and staying there.

The Dutch hung up their arms on the present site of Philadelphia, where they were promptly torn down by the Swedes; and near Cape Henlopen, at the mouth of Delaware Bay, where they attempted to establish a little colony called Swaanendael, they set up a tin coat of arms of Holland, which an Indian took down to convert into tobacco pipes. Hossett, who was in charge of the place, made such complaints of this insult to their High Mightinesses the States General, that the Indians killed the chief who had made

pipes of the tin heraldry, and his followers, to avenge his death, massacred every Dutchman at Swaanendael.

The arms at the mouth of the Connecticut were taken down by the English, who, as the Dutch complained, "engraved a ridiculous face in their place;" and the fort which the Dutch built near the present site of Hartford was treated with similar contempt. The Puritans occupied the country all round it, and even ploughed the land close up to the redoubt. "It was a sin," said the Puritan governor, "to leave uncultivated such valuable land, which would produce such excellent corn;" and when the Dutch resisted, the Puritans went up to the fort and pounded them on the head. Evert Duyckingk, we are told, while sowing grain, was struck "a hole in his head with a sticke, soe that the blood ran down very strongly."

The Swedes also amused themselves by pounding the Dutchman's head when he became too earnest in his protests. Kieft and others were always threatening "great calamities," and declaring that they would use "all the means God had given them to recover their rights." But Printz, the Swedish governor on the Delaware, had a short method of receiving Dutch envoys or messengers. One he threw out of his house, threatening to shoot him; and Hudde com-

plained that "the subjects of the company, as well freemen as servants, when arriving at the place where he resides, are in a most unreasonable manner abused, so that they are often on returning home bloody and bruised."

But testy William soon had more serious difficulties on his hands. Determined to strip the province of everything, after the manner of his nation, he exacted tribute of corn, furs, and wampum from the Indians. He professed to be acting under instructions from Holland, but the Amsterdam chamber always denied that they had authorized such a measure; and it was a piece of foolishness from which the English colonists, recognizing the sturdy independence of the Indian character, had sense enough to abstain.

On a mere suspicion of some thefts, Kieft sent seventy soldiers and sailors, who attacked the Raritan Indians and destroyed their crops. In return, the Raritans wiped out De Vries's plantation at Staten Island, and soon after murdered a Dutchman at Deutel Bay, on the East River.

Kieft was now for war against the red man. But the serious-minded Dutch people of Manhattan told him that he was only seeking an excuse for "a wrong reckoning with the company;" and it was easy for him to talk of war

"who could secure his own life in a good fort, out of which he had not slept a single night in all the years he had been here."

This is the first instance in New Netherland of anything like a popular movement or representative action on the part of the people. They had always quietly submitted to be ruled by the governor without laws or legislature, but now they seem to have found a voice which was so strong that Kieft dared not disregard it. He called a meeting of all heads of families near Manhattan, to be held at Fort Amsterdam, and there, on the 29th of August, 1641, the war question was submitted to the first meeting of the people that had ever been convened in New Netherland.

But the mass-meeting was unwilling to decide the question finally, and dispersed after referring it to twelve of their number, whom they called the Twelve Selectmen, known usually in New York history as The Twelve. Their decision was characteristic. The murder, they said, should be avenged, but nevertheless trade with the Indians must not be discontinued; and when the attack on them should be made, the governor "ought to lead the van."

De Vries, who was president of The Twelve, was, however, opposed to war, and The Twelve were in favor of delay. Kieft summoned and consulted them several times, but

could get from them only advice for delay ; and soon becoming more representative of the people, they began to ask for reforms and improvements in the government.

This was going too far. They had been appointed only to give advice for war, or, in other words, to relieve Kieft of the responsibility if war was begun ; so he dissolved them, and forbade any meetings of the people without his express orders, because, he said, they tended to dangerous consequences and to the great injury of the country and authority. But he allowed the people to appoint four men to assist him in governing, whom he said he would consult when he felt the need of their advice. Free government was certainly not much encouraged at Manhattan.

Being unable to make The Twelve assume responsibility for a war, Kieft took the burden on himself, and sent an expedition of eighty men, commanded by a young ensign, Van Dyck, who crossed the Harlem River with the intention of surprising the Weckquaesgeeks at night. But the guide missed the way, and Van Dyck got into a petulant fit of Dutch temper and returned ingloriously.

The war-cloud rolled on ; there were terrible rumors of the preparations of the Indians, and another Dutchman was murdered while quietly

thatching a house. The Mohawks, who lived north of Albany, were the great warrior tribe who ruled the inferior Weckquaesgeeks, Tappans, and Raritans living along the Hudson. In the winter of 1643 a party of nearly a hundred Mohawks, armed with muskets, came down to collect by force a tribute from their victims. Seventy of the river Indians were killed, and the rest began to flee towards Manhattan.

Four or five hundred of them took refuge at De Vries's colony of Vriesendael, and afterwards moved farther down and encamped on the oyster-banks at Pavonia, opposite Fort Amsterdam, where there were soon over a thousand savages congregated, and many of them crossed to Manhattan, seeking protection among the bouweries.

De Vries and others thought that this was an excellent opportunity to make a lasting peace with all these Indians, who were already grateful for the protection given them. But at one of those dinners which were such an important means of government in New Netherland it was suggested to Kieft that the innocent blood of the murdered Dutchmen was still unavenged, and that God had now delivered their enemies into his hands.

A petition was presented to him by some of the men who had been of The Twelve. Those

who formerly had been for delay were now hot for war when they saw no necessity for a march into the Indian country, and that the enemy was panic-stricken and cowering at their feet. Kieft drank a significant toast, and swore that he would make the savages "wipe their chops."

De Vries and Dominie Bogardus protested in vain. In the dead of night Sergeant Rodolf and eighty men fell upon the unsuspecting Indians at Pavonia and murdered men, women, and children in cold blood. From midnight until morning they shot and slashed, threw children into the water and drove their mothers in after them, while the screams were heard across the bay at Fort Amsterdam.

"I sat up that night," says De Vries, "by the kitchen fire at the director's. About midnight, hearing loud shrieks, I ran up to the ramparts of the fort. Looking towards Pavonia, I saw nothing but shooting, and heard nothing but the shrieks of Indians murdered in their sleep."

Shortly afterwards, on the same side of the river with De Vries, another party of Indians were surprised and forty of them killed. The soldiers returned to Kieft in the morning with heads and prisoners, and he welcomed them by shaking their bloody hands. Even the women of Manhattan were aroused, and, in imitation of the savages, heaped indignities on the dripping heads. Not content with this slaughter, the

Dutchmen invaded the Long Island Indians, who had always been friendly, and robbed them of their corn.

The English settlers of America have not very much to boast of in the way of fair treatment of the Indians, but they never were guilty of anything so treacherous, cowardly, and cruel as these attacks of the Dutch. It was the brutality of weakness and fear, for the Dutch were utterly inefficient in real warfare against the Indians; and we are reminded of the execution of the aged Barneveldt, the great advocate of the States of Holland, which has always been a stain on the Dutch character.

But we need not concern ourselves very much about the Indians on this occasion. Within a few months they had completely squared accounts with the Dutch, and in fact had the balance on their side, just as De Vries and the wiser heads had prophesied. The poor river Indians, with the Dutch before them and the Mohawks behind them, made common cause with the Long Island Indians, and, hiding in the swamps and thickets, began those stealthy savage tactics against which the Dutchman was powerless.

The farmer and his cattle were shot down in the bouweries, grain, hay, and crops set on fire, and the women and children whose lives were spared carried into captivity. The outlying

districts of New Netherland were almost depopulated, and the survivors fled to Fort Amsterdam, on Manhattan Island, where they crowded together, begging to be sent back to Holland. The province was on the eve of being emptied of its people; and to stop the calamity and prevent the people from returning to Holland, Kieft was compelled to take them all into the employment of the company.

Days of fasting and prayer were held, and when the Indians had had enough of plunder and slaughter they made a treaty of peace. But it could not last long. In a few months the war was on again, and the Indians swept the whole country, including New Jersey and the northern part of Manhattan Island, driving the frightened Swannekens into Fort Amsterdam.

There, in the little crumbling fort below the modern Wall Street, where the current of commercial prosperity sweeps by every day, was gathered all that was left of New Netherland. The women and children were hidden in the straw huts, and the men kept guard on the mounds of earth which formed the ramparts, while the Indian scouts came up close enough to shoot at the guards.

In his extremity, Kieft sent to the Puritans in New England for assistance, but received for answer that they were not satisfied "that the

Dutch war with the Indians was just." Provisions they were willing to send as an act of humanity, but they had not the slightest intention of protecting the Dutchman from his red enemy; and it is not unlikely that many a Puritan prayed to his terrible God not to deliver the Swannekens from the hand of the heathen, but to sweep them off the continent, so that the saints might inherit the earth.

Thrown on his own resources, Kieft organized such forces as he had, and as the Indians became weary of the success of their contest he undertook offensive measures against them. In this he received assistance from some of the Englishmen who for several years had been settling themselves within the limits of New Netherland. Many of them were Puritans from Massachusetts, who for various reasons had found the life at Boston uncongenial. But it is noticeable that they usually established themselves on the outskirts of the province, either on Long Island or close to the Connecticut line.

Among them was the famous Mrs. Anne Hutchinson, who had made a home for herself near New Rochelle, on what has since been known as Pelham's Neck, but which the Dutch called in her honor Annie's Hoeck. Here the Indians had murdered her and nearly her whole family. But there were two other prominent

Puritan refugees who escaped, Daniel Patrick and John Underhill, both of whom had been soldiers of considerable experience.

Patrick had been employed to drill the militia in Massachusetts, but becoming "proud and vicious," as Winthrop tells us, he sought safety among the Dutch. Underhill had been at times very sanctimonious, and at other times much given to adultery, which he had confessed in all its details in true Puritan fashion with tears and wailing before one of the congregations. But the saints finally despaired of converting him, and he also removed to New Netherland.

Kieft sent a hundred and twenty men to assist Patrick against the Indians in the neighborhood of Stamford; but they wandered over the country all night without finding the enemy, and returning very weary to Stamford, full of that peculiar Dutch rage which seems to have afflicted the Swannekens whenever they had to walk very far for nothing, they upbraided Patrick for bringing them on a fool's errand. One of them was so abusive that Patrick resented his insults by rough language and spitting in his face, and as soon as Patrick's back was turned the Dutchman shot him in the head.

Underhill was more fortunate, and, when placed in command of fourteen Dutchmen, routed the Indians in one of their villages, and,

assisted by a party commanded by La Montagne, they killed altogether one hundred and twenty of the enemy. Two of the prisoners were brought to Fort Amsterdam and tortured. One died under his sufferings, and the other was mercifully relieved by Kieft, who had him beheaded on the millstone in Beaver's Path, afterwards Beaver's Lane, near the Battery.

Kieft had now at last found some one who could protect his people. Underhill led another expedition, which fell upon the Indians in one of their fortified villages north of Stamford and killed upward of five hundred of them. This ended the worst part of the war, and New Netherland was delivered by the outcast Puritan adulterer.

The province was in a shocking state of ruin and confusion. The West India Company was now bankrupt, and The Eight, who had taken the place of The Twelve, demanded the recall of Kieft, whose misdeeds they set out at length in their petition. Everybody longed for a return of the old easy-going days of Wouter Van Twiller, the Doubter; and even the Indians were said to go about crying, "Wouter, Wouter, Wouter!"

That good fellow De Vries had left the country in disgust. His advice had been neglected, his efforts to save the colony had been in vain, and

his two estates at Staten Island and Vriesendael had been destroyed by the Indians.

He sailed away never to return; but, true to his old habits, he took plenty of time on his voyage to Holland. He coasted along the shore of New Jersey and entered the Delaware River, visiting the Swedes and telling them in his frank way that they had no business there trespassing on Dutch territory. But they liked him none the less, for he was always popular wherever he went; and we read that Printz, the Swedish governor, welcomed him most cordially and pledged him in "a great romer of Rhine wine."

From the Delaware he went to Virginia, and, as it was late in the autumn, he spent the winter there; and we can readily believe that he had a royal time with that cock-fighting, fox-hunting gentry, who were the people of all others who could appreciate his good qualities. At last he returned to Holland, where he amused himself by writing a most charming and simple narrative of all he had seen and done in New Netherland; and he died almost the only prominent man connected with the early days of that unfortunate colony who cannot be laughed at.

The colony had cost the company over five hundred and fifty thousand guilders after deducting the returns received from it; and after five years of Indian war there were comparatively

few people in it. Besides traders, there were only about one hundred colonists at Manhattan. Outside of that island every settlement on the west side of the Hudson south of the Highlands had been destroyed, as well as those in the greater part of Westchester and Western Long Island.

Only the patroonship of Van Rensselaer and the few posts on the Delaware remained unharmed. The prosperous English colonies, with their rapidly increasing population, were pressing into New Netherland from all sides, and it was a question whether the remnant of the Dutch had not better be brought back to the fatherland.

But an effort was made to restore and renew. Kieft was dismissed, and Peter Stuyvesant, the headstrong, was made governor, or director-general, as he was called. He was to be compelled to rule, however, with the assistance of a supreme council, consisting of himself, a vice-director, and a fiscal.

In these reforms and changes it was recommended that the colonists should be settled in towns and villages, "as the English are in the habit of doing," which seems rather inconsistent with the claim advanced in recent years that the Dutch taught the town-government system to the New Englanders.

As a matter of fact, wherever the English

entered New Netherland they demanded a self-governing town for themselves. Kieft allowed the Puritans from Stamford, Connecticut, who founded the town of Heemstede, on Long Island, to elect their own magistrates, subject to his approval, and in general to manage their own affairs. In the same way, and insisting on the same privileges, the English founded Flushing, which the Dutch called Vlissingen, after a seaport of Zealand. But among the Dutch themselves in New York there was no town government or self-government of any kind which in the most remote degree resembled the New England town system.

Peter Stuyvesant was a pompous, vehement old soldier, fond of displaying his knowledge of Latin. He had been governor of the Dutch colony at Curaçoa, and had lost a leg in an attack on the Portuguese island of St. Martin. The Indians called him wooden leg; and as he ornamented the artificial limb with bands of silver, he was often called silver leg, which, of course, gave Irving an opportunity for fun. He returned from Curaçoa to Holland for surgical aid, and on his recovery was sent out to rule New Netherland in place of Kieft. Among his instructions, he was told to allow the different colonies, as the settlements were called, to send delegates to his council. This was a weak,

half-way substitute for representative government, intended to take the place of The Twelves, Eights, and Fours which prevailed under Kieft.

As soon as they heard that William the Testy was to be superseded, the people were wild with joy. Some of them, with true Dutch frankness, informed him that they intended to thrash him as soon as he lost the authority of his office, or, as they expressed it, as soon as he should "take off the coat with which he was bedecked by the Lords his masters." Dominie Bogardus also preached against him, declaring to his congregation that the great men of the country had been nothing but "vessels of wrath and fountains of woe" that plundered the people.

Against the dominie the only revenge Kieft took was to have drums beaten and a cannon fired during the Sunday service, and he encouraged people to indulge in all sorts of noisy amusements round the church. But against some of the others he was more severe, and they discovered to their sorrow that, though superseded, the last days of his power could be cruel.

He departed at last with a fortune of four hundred thousand guilders, which he had amassed during his administration; but the ship was wrecked on the coast of Wales, and Kieft and Dominie Bogardus with eighty others were drowned.

At this time New Amsterdam, as the present city of New York was then called, consisted of a fort of earth ramparts, situated near the junction of the East River with the Hudson, just above the present site of the Battery, and surrounded by high-peaked but rather low houses, thatched with straw or reeds. The town was nearly all below Wall Street, and above it throughout Manhattan Island were the farms, or bouweries, as they were called.

From the walls of the fort towards the shore and the present Battery was open space, and here stood the lofty gallows and the whipping-post, terrors to evil-doers. Near to the shore in both the East and the Hudson River the queer-shaped Dutch ships lay at anchor,—the hoys, pinks, galleons, and yachts. The term yacht, which has been adopted in English to describe a pleasure-boat, seems to have meant in Dutch a vessel of less than one hundred tons, the sort of craft that was apt to be used for exploring expeditions or light trade.

The Dutch were very skilful gardeners, and many of the great variety of vegetables which are enjoyed in modern times were first produced in Holland. In New Amsterdam they soon had flourishing gardens round their houses, not only of vegetables, but also of flowers, of which they were equally fond. Van der Donck gives

a long list of flowers which he found blooming at New Amsterdam as early as 1653, most of which had been imported from Holland; and, besides these, they had domesticated many of the native wild flowers. Flocks of geese, ducks, and chickens were of course waddling all about, for the thrifty Dutch vrouws delighted in them.

These same vrouws and their goodmen slept on beds filled with feathers plucked from their own geese, and for covering they often used another feather-bed. They had great quantities of clothes, and appear to have found the climate very cold. The women wore innumerable petticoats, the men several pairs of trousers, one over the other; and in church in wintertime the men used muffs.

They had linen in what seems to have been unnecessary quantity, not only for wear, but for the table and bed. This was common in all the colonies, but the Dutch possessed unusually large supplies. Some families had five or six hundred dollars' worth; and we read of one man who had eighty muslin sheets, twenty-three linen ones, and thirty-two pillow cases. This is partially explained when we find that there were very few wash-days a year; and this custom of an enormous quantity of clothes and very few wash-days is said to prevail in modern times in some parts of Germany.

But the Dutch were extremely clean and neat, especially about their houses. Cleanliness seems to have been a characteristic of the colonies, except among the German peasants in Pennsylvania, of whom there were many complaints. Several of the French travellers were much impressed with the cleanness of everything in New England, and the Moravians at Bethlehem in Pennsylvania were an exception among the Germans of that province. But even the German peasantry, who seem to have been very slovenly for some time after their arrival, became cleaner with the improvement of their condition in life.

A great change has taken place in this respect in the nineteenth century which is difficult to account for. Many people are still living who remember when farm-houses and all the homes of the lower classes had none of the tawdry dirtiness which now makes a visit to them anything but a pleasure. Some explain it by the modern labor-saving devices which seem to have destroyed the faculty for hard work, which is the only real dirt destroyer, and others trace it to the enormous immigration of low European peasantry.

Before the English conquest of New York the houses of New Amsterdam are described as built of bricks of various colors, laid in checkers,

glazed, and very pretty. The front doors were divided into an upper and a lower half, which was a custom brought from Holland, and is now often imitated in reproductions of colonial architecture. Within the houses were neat and clean to admiration. The wood-work was scoured and rubbed until it shone like the decks of a man-of-war. The floors were rubbed and polished in the same way, and sprinkled with fresh sand every day, which when first put on was marked into patterns with the broom. Even the Dutch farm-houses had this virtue of cleanliness, for which the Dutch women were famous.

They loved to get their houses in perfect order every day, dress themselves well and neatly, with bags hanging from their girdles, filled with all the instruments of housewifery, and then spin busily at their wheels, or in summer sit on the stoop to receive visits from their neighbors, and gossip while the goodman smoked his pipe.

Sometimes they strolled in the evening to a grove of locust-trees on a bluff of the Hudson south of the present Trinity church-yard, or they wandered down the "Maiden's Path," now preserved in Maiden Lane. They were great gossips, it is said, and there must have been plenty to tell; for the Dutch were frank

to an extraordinary degree, and called everything by its common name.

The vrouws were very comfortable persons, not vivacious, but with the most practical good sense. Some of them engaged in trade or carried on small business occupations, in which they were very skilful. They were probably as good-natured and easy-going as the men; but apparently it was not safe to presume too much on their kindly disposition. We read in the court records of Brooklyn that Mistress Jonica Schampf and Widow Rachel Luguer assaulted Peter Praa, the captain of the militia, when he was at the head of his troops on training-day in October, 1690. They beat him, pulled his hair, and handled him so roughly with "Ivill Inormities" that his life was despaired of.

It is said that the Dutch had few if any oaths except "sacrament." When they wished to be very offensive, they put their thumb to their nose and wriggled their fingers, an insult for which a Dutchman could be punished in court; and Irving makes effective use of it in his Knickerbocker History.

They were so extremely sensitive to impudent or insulting speeches that if they had had many oaths the community would have been in a continuous turmoil. People were brought before the court for saying of another, "If his

debts were paid he would have little left," or that "he had not half a wife," or that he was "a little cock, booted and spurred;" and Alice Morse Earle, to whom we are indebted for the description of many of these early Dutch customs, has collected numerous other instances in her excellent volume, "Colonial Days in Old New York."

Their love of gossip, combined with their sensitiveness, kept the judges busy with suits for slander. Dominie Bogardus and his wife Anneke sued a woman because she had said that Anneke in crossing a muddy street lifted her petticoats too high. Dominie Frelinghuysen had painted on the back of his sleigh a rhyme which Mrs. Earle has translated:

> "No one's tongue and no one's pen
> Makes me other than I am.
> Speak, evil speakers, speak without end,
> No one heeds a word you say."

The New York Dutch were certainly a very curious people, and all the records and remains of their life are full of quaintness. It is difficult now to understand the mental condition of a man who could call his yacht "The Pear-Tree."

The Dutch farmers lived in low, solidly built houses, with small windows and very large cellars, where they stored great supplies of

vegetables and hogsheads of salt beef, pork, and fish for the winter. Their fireplaces were, of course, large, as in the other colonies. You could drive a horse and cart through them, Kalm said, and they seem to have been built far out into the room.

The Dutch were in general not as heavy eaters as the English colonists, and drank less. The English called them milk-and-cheese men. They lived largely on the various products of milk, vegetables, bread, and very good little cakes. They were not, as a rule, great meat-eaters, like their neighbors.

Their drinking, though less by comparison than that of the English, seems, however, heavy enough in this less capacious age. After the English conquest of New York, the candidates in an election spent large sums for liquor. We read of sixty-two gallons of rum, several gallons of brandy, a pyd of wine, besides lime-juice, shrub, mugs, jugs, and bottles.

Before the English conquest, Dutch workmen on a building, as Mrs. Earle tells us, had to be sustained at every stage. In 1656 those who pulled down an old building in Albany received a tun of strong beer. When the first stones of the new wall were laid the masons were given a case of brandy, an anker of brandy, and thirty-two gallons of other liquor. When the beams were

carried in by eight men, they had half a barrel of beer for every beam; and when the beams were laid, two barrels of strong beer, three cases of brandy, and seventy-two florins' worth of small beer.

Criminals were punished by the usual methods of that age,—the pillory, whipping, imprisonment, and hanging. When there was no prison, they appear to have been sometimes locked up in the tavern. Torture was used to force confessions of guilt. A number of instances of it are to be found in O'Callaghan's "Calendar of Dutch Manuscripts," and Dutch New York seems to have been the only one of the colonies in which this method of the Middle Ages was put in practice.

"Oct. 5, 1639. Hendrick Jansen, gunner's mate of the ship Herring from Bremen, charged with an assault on the deputy fiscal, was subjected to torture, but he persisted in the lie." (Trumbull: *Blue Laws, True and False*, 309.)

"Nov. 22, 1641. Jan Hobbesen, charged with theft (stealing a sheet from a tavern), persisting in denying the charge, is put to the torture, after which he confessed his guilt; is sentenced to be whipped with rods and banished." (*Ibid.*, 310.)

There seems to have been no hurry in getting Stuyvesant to New Netherland to take the place of Kieft. His departure was delayed for a long time; and when at last the little squadron of four

vessels left the Texel, they spent six leisurely months in making the voyage. They captured a prize and lingered long in the West Indies.

But in May, 1647, they reached Manhattan; and although Stuyvesant's coming was "like a peacock's, with great state and pomp," and he was insolent and supercilious, keeping the principal people waiting bareheaded for hours before he would receive them, everybody was determined to be happy. The whole population appeared under arms, paraded about among the little thatched houses at the mouth of the East River, and fired their guns until they had burnt up nearly all the powder in New Amsterdam.

Stuyvesant promised that he would be a father to them, and paternal government was all that the people could hope for. In accordance with his instructions, he allowed a sort of compromise representative government. Four of the colonies—Manhattan, Amersfoort, Breuckelen, and Pavonia—held an election and chose eighteen persons, from whom Stuyvesant selected nine to advise and assist him in governing, but only when he chose to call upon them for advice. There were to be no future elections. The people were allowed their voice only in the first instance, and after that The Nine, like a close corporation, filled all vacancies in their body.

The people were not allowed to hold meetings of any kind, and The Nine had to go about from house to house to get their opinions.

The man who had arrived like a peacock soon became a hawk and a vulture. The people complained that he was everything. He had shops and breweries, and was a merchant and a trader in lawful as well as contraband goods. Duties and taxes were increased; the customs duties were so high that ships and traders were kept away, and Stuyvesant was eager to confiscate property of all kinds for the slightest infraction of his rules. Twenty-five vessels, it is said, would have visited Manhattan annually from the West Indies if their owners had not been afraid of confiscation.

A court of justice was organized and Van Durcklagen appointed judge; but Stuyvesant required that his own opinion should be asked in all important cases, and he reserved the right to preside over the court whenever he saw fit,—a most comical arrangement, which even Irving could not exaggerate.

The most extraordinary part of the whole system was that Stuyvesant, like the previous governors, seems to have had full authority to do what he pleased. Neither the company nor the States General of Holland appear to have been much interested or to have exercised much

control, except to appoint a new governor after the excesses of the one in power had gone on for many years. If a governor could keep things tolerably quiet and prevent reports from reaching Holland, he could have his way. We read of the governor openly storming at the people and threatening to punish them if they should tell on him.

Stuyvesant was relentlessly cruel to some of the men who had abused Kieft at the close of his administration, or, in other words, had told on him. The headstrong Peter seemed to think it necessary to uphold all the rapacity of his predecessor. Kieft had upheld Van Twiller in the same way, and had ordered all persons to restore everything in their possession belonging to the company, unless they could "prove that they had bought it from the former director."

"If I were persuaded," said Stuyvesant on one occasion, "that you would divulge our sentence or bring it before their High Mightinesses, I would have you hanged at once on the highest tree in New Netherland. If any one during my administration shall appeal, I will make him a foot shorter, and send the pieces to Holland, and let him appeal in that way."

In some things headstrong Peter's reign was successful. He conquered the Swedes on the Delaware; but it was a rather useless conquest. He also resisted with success the pretensions of

Van Rensselaer, who was trying hard to make his patroonship an independent colony, and had almost absorbed Fort Orange, which happened to be situated within his boundaries.

The laws or proclamations of New Netherland, Van Rensselaer claimed, ceased their operation at the entrance of his domain, and he refused to observe a general fast which Stuyvesant had ordered. This roused the ire of the valiant Peter, and he visited Rensselaerwick, where he was received with the full measure of Dutch pomp and salvoes of artillery. The long wrangling ended in his favor; Van Rensselaer was reduced to his proper dimensions, the independence of Fort Orange was secured, and it became the germ of the present town of Albany.

The Reformed Dutch religion was vigorously maintained, and a proclamation issued to suppress unlicensed preachers, and many of them were fined and imprisoned. The Lutherans and Baptists were forbidden to hold religious meetings, but the Lutherans finally obtained permission. When the Quakers appeared, they were treated with more severity than in any other colony except Massachusetts. Harsh rules were enforced against them, under which a number were banished, and those who harbored or assisted them punished with fines and imprisonment.

The people themselves were anxious for liberty, and constantly struggling for it, demanding the privileges they had enjoyed in Holland. They succeeded during Stuyvesant's administration in holding several Landtdags, or popular conventions, in which they set forth their grievances. But they gained very little, because the company and the mother country were indifferent, and the governor would grant no privileges that he was not compelled to grant.

The towns were, however, one by one given some little control over their own affairs. In 1652 the Manhattan people were allowed to have a schout, burgomasters, and schepens, but all these officers were appointed by Stuyvesant. Afterwards, when this burgher government was extended to Breuckelen, Amersfoort, and Midwout, they were allowed to nominate their officers for the governor's approval. But this was granted as a very great favor, and was intended to counterbalance the influence of the English villages.

The English were indeed pressing close upon New Netherland. Stuyvesant was in continual negotiations with the confederation of the New England colonies about his boundaries, and was beaten at every point. In 1654 the Connecticut people seized Fort Hope, which the Dutch had so long maintained at Hartford. The

Yankee settlers of Long Island were in a continual state of disaffection, stirring up the Dutchmen to demand greater privileges and more liberal government.

The Dutch population of New Netherland was so small, and the New England population so large in comparison, that it was evidently a mere question of time when the Yankees by their vigorous overflow would absorb everything. "Many hounds," said Stuyvesant, "are death to the hare," and the Puritan hound was becoming very keen and hungry.

Under Cromwell, England was at war with Holland, and the English were becoming aroused to the importance of their American possessions. The intrusion of the Dutch in the best part of the continent was no longer regarded with indifference, and English diplomats and statesmen began to talk of the superior title of England to all the land from Labrador to Florida which the discovery of the Cabots had given. England was now becoming an important commercial nation, contending with Holland for the sovereignty of the seas. The New England Puritans, under direct encouragement from Great Britain, began to make deliberate encroachments on the territory of New Netherland, and Massachusetts granted lands on the Hudson opposite to Fort Orange.

The relations between the two communities were strained, and the Puritans were evidently seeking an opportunity to begin an armed contest. They professed to have discovered a plot between the Dutch and the Indians to destroy the English in New England, who were to be massacred on Sunday when they were all in their churches. They openly charged Stuyvesant with this, and sent commissioners to Manhattan to collect evidence. They could find none, although they examined a great many Indians and other persons. But they still insisted on believing in the plot, which, with enlarged details, was the talk of Connecticut firesides for nearly a hundred years, and the ill feeling between Dutch and English increased.

A short peace had been patched up between England and Holland; but on the restoration of Charles II., in 1660, it was evident that no peace could be lasting between two nations who had become such bitter commercial rivals, and who were trying to cut each other out of trade in every part of the world. Stuyvesant and the company felt that the hounds were pressing them very close, and the weakness of their whole system is shown in their attempt to settle New Jersey with Englishmen. They seemed to think that English dissenters, being hostile to the Church of England, would be hostile to the

whole British nation and government. They could not get their own people to leave the dikes and windmills of Holland, and in the hope of getting a large enough population to resist New England, they were proposing plans for gathering immigrants from all the countries of Europe.

But it was all in vain, for the British government had now decided to seize New Netherland. The argument which at this moment seemed most convincing was that as long as the Dutch remained at New Netherland they traded with the colonists of Virginia and of New England, and every shilling they gained in this trade was that much lost to England.

The English colonists were forbidden by the navigation acts to send their products to any country but England, and could buy their supplies only in England, and everything must be carried in English vessels. But, with New Netherland so near at hand, these rules were easily evaded. From Virginia alone it was estimated that the Dutch at New York received such quantities of tobacco that if sent to England in the regular way the duty on it would have amounted to ten thousand pounds a year. For a king who was so anxious to replenish his exchequer as Charles II., this consideration alone was decisive.

But how was he to get possession of New Netherland? England and Holland were at peace, and Holland would not admit that England was entitled to all North America by the discovery of the Cabots. It was suggested that the crown should simply assume that the Dutchmen at Manhattan were British subjects on British territory, and begin to rule them. But this would lead to war as quickly as any other method; and it was finally determined that the best way would be to make a grant of New Netherland as English territory to some person, and then put him in possession by force.

Accordingly, in 1664, Charles II. gave to his brother, the Duke of York and Albany, afterwards James II., a grant of all the land between the Connecticut and Delaware Rivers. Four ships of war, under the command of Colonel Richard Nicolls, were at once sent to put the duke in possession, and Nicolls was to be the governor of the duke's province.

The object of the expedition was known at the Hague; but the West India Company refused to believe it. It was merely, they said, an expedition to reorganize the government of New England and establish Episcopacy there, and when that was done the Puritans would be more willing than ever to live under the Dutch. As for the States General, when called upon to

defend New Netherland from the British, they replied that they would not be bothered with making a war for the West India Company. They had had trouble enough already with the East India Company, and they would rather pull them both by the ears.

But the valiant Peter prepared to defend his colony. Beer was forbidden to be brewed, artillery and ammunition collected from the Delaware and Rensselaerwick, and the people forced to work on the fortifications; and when the English squadron anchored just outside the Narrows and seized Staten Island, vigorous old Silver Leg refused to surrender.

The summons to surrender had declared that all the people should be allowed to enjoy their property; but Stuyvesant was determined that the people should not know of this, for they were not in the least heroic. No stronger comment could be made on the utter failure of the Dutch colony than that when the English enemy appeared, the only man who did not want to surrender was the governor, who, like his predecessors, was making a fortune out of New Netherland.

The people soon suspected that the terms of surrender were withheld from them for some reason, and demanded to see them. Stuyvesant stoutly resisted, and warned the burgomasters and council that if the people knew the terms

they would insist on capitulating. The English seem to have been aware of this weak point, and Winthrop, the governor of Connecticut, who had accompanied the squadron, came to Manhattan under a flag of truce, and assured Stuyvesant's council and burgomasters that if they would surrender the Dutch could continue to settle and trade in the province and pass to and fro to Holland in their own ships.

Winthrop had also set forth these terms in a letter which on his departure he handed to Stuyvesant, and the burgomasters demanded that this letter should be made public; but the governor, in a fit of passion, tore it in pieces before them. When this became generally known, the people refused to work on the palisades. The one thing they cared for was to be given them, —namely, trade; so what was there to fight about? They crowded round the governor, cursing the company and its management, and crying, "The letter, the letter!"

The fragments of it were picked up, patched together, and copied for the people to read; but the governor, headstrong as ever against all opposition, kept up a show of resistance, although he had burnt up a large part of his powder in firing salutes to Winthrop and every messenger who came from the squadron.

Nicolls, growing tired of the delay, landed

troops below Breukelen, and sent two frigates, which anchored between Fort Amsterdam and Governor's Island. Poor old headstrong Peter stood in one of the angles of the fort by a gun, watching their approach. An artilleryman with a lighted match stood by his side, and he would surely have had a shot at the enemy if two of the dominies had not come and led him away. Everybody remonstrated and pleaded with him, and at last he yielded, saying, "I would much rather be carried out dead;" and soon after he met the commissioners at his bouwery to arrange the terms of surrender.

The Dutch troops were marched out of Fort Amsterdam with the honors of war, and immediately sailed for Holland. A corporal's guard of the English entered the fort, and in a few moments the British ensign was floating above the low walls, the windmill, the gallows and whipping-post at the river-side, and the queer little thatched houses huddling round the fort.

The fort was named Fort James, in honor of the conquering duke; and when Nicolls went up the Hudson and secured Fort Orange, he called it Albany, after the duke's Scotch title, and New Amsterdam was called New York.

The Dutch had lost their best and greatest colony, and it must be confessed that they deserved to lose it. They had never really be-

lieved in it. They had allowed it to become the plundering-ground for a greedy, selfish corporation monopoly and its rapacious governors. They had not the force of character and energy to settle and rule it properly, and, unless they intended to make it a point of advantage for controlling the whole continent, there was no use in their keeping it,

After an existence of more than forty years, its population was less than ten thousand, who, although they held the present flourishing States of New York, New Jersey, Delaware, and Pennsylvania, the richest and best part of America, could barely maintain themselves, while the New England colonies, with an inferior and barren country, numbered nearly fifty thousand.

As for the Dutch peopling the whole continent and controlling it, that was, of course, impossible. There was only one nation competent for that task, and the sooner all others were cleared out of the way the better for civilization. The Dutch were traders, not colonizers, and they always succeeded best in tropical countries, where they still hold colonies or trading-stations. Even while they held New York they seemed to prefer the West Indies, and were inclined to linger there on their voyages to Manhattan.

In Holland the seizure of New Netherland by the British was of course regarded as a deadly insult, and a long war began. Within ten years, in 1673, the Dutch succeeded in retaking New York, landing a force on the Hudson, just back of Trinity Church, near the present railroad ferries to Jersey City. They held the country for a few months, naming New York, New Orange; Albany, Willemstaadt; and New Jersey, Achter Kol. But at this time Holland had formed an alliance with Spain and Germany against England. Spain insisted that all conquests should be restored, and by the treaty of Westminster New York was given back to England in exchange for Surinam, which was given to the Dutch. The treaty was confirmed before it was known in Holland that New York had been retaken, and a trumpeter was sent to London to protest, but to no purpose.

Among the Dutch colonists in New York the English conquest was regarded almost with indifference. They rapidly took the oath of allegiance to Great Britain, and immediately began to talk about trade. They hoped for greater liberty than they had enjoyed under their own fatherland. They asked that New York should have the same commercial privileges as England or Boston, and, if these were granted,

they declared themselves ready to "bloom and grow like the cedars on Lebanon."

Their expectations were in a great measure realized, for after twenty years of English rule the population of New York had almost doubled. But in civil government the duke was at first as great a tyrant as the West India Company had been. The Dutch laws and customs were allowed to stand, with the intention of gradually changing them, and the colony was to be ruled by the governor and his council, who were to make all laws.

There was to be a Court of Assizes, as it was called, consisting of the sheriffs and justices, meeting once a year to assist the governor and his council in law-making. These sheriffs and justices were appointed by the governor, and their yearly meeting was in no sense representative government, for the Duke of York despised anything of that kind. The Court of Assizes was enough privilege to allow the people; for the justices who composed it, he coolly remarked, would be the same persons whom in all probability the people themselves would choose, if they were allowed the privilege of electing them.

Stuyvesant had been among the first to take the oath of allegiance. He spent the rest of his life in the province, having first, like the

thrifty Dutchman he was, secured from the British Privy Council a special license to trade. He lived on his little bouwery or farm, which was situated at the present Third Avenue and Thirteenth Street, where he died at the age of eighty years. He was buried under a little chapel of his own near his house, where a pear-tree brought from the fatherland and planted by his own hands was preserved by an iron railing until 1867.

New York under the duke was a proprietary colony with the most despotic power given to the proprietor. Maryland and Pennsylvania were also proprietary colonies, but their proprietors, Lord Baltimore and William Penn, could make laws only by consent of the freemen of the province or their delegates. The Duke of York, however, was under no compulsion to consult his people, and could make whatever laws suited him. He delegated this power to his governor, Nicolls, and Nicolls prepared a code of laws copied for the most part from the laws of the New England colonies, with additions and improvements.

The people were told to elect a convention of their delegates, which should meet at Hempstead and give the governor advice and information about this code; but as soon as the meeting began to make objections and suggest altera-

tions, Nicolls promptly told them that they were there merely to approve what he had prepared for them, and he forthwith promulgated the code, which they submissively accepted.

This code established in the fullest manner religious liberty, which had not prevailed under the Dutch. The duke was a Roman Catholic, and in after-years, when he had been driven from the English throne, he told the Pope that it had been his intention gradually to establish by law the Roman faith in all the English colonies in America. When only a duke, and in possession of one colony, he dared not make his own religion exclusive, and, being unwilling to establish any other, he had no choice but to establish absolute freedom.

In 1665 he abolished the government of schout, burgomasters, and schepens which had controlled New York, and in its place established that government of mayor and aldermen of which we have heard so much in the modern politics of the city.

Finding that the Dutch, or Flemish, breed of horses was as slow as the schouts and schepens, he also, through Nicolls, established a race-course near Hempstead, on Long Island, where a great plain sixteen miles long and four wide was found to be covered with fine grass like the English downs, "with neither stick nor stone

to hinder the horses' heels or endanger them in their races." There a silver plate was run for every year, to the great delight of all subsequent governors and the Long Island farmers, whose breed of massive horses in the course of years gradually improved in lightness and speed.

This open plain was regarded as a great curiosity in colonial times, when the whole country was covered with forests, in which travellers grew weary of the continual succession of trees. Visitors were taken to see it. The prairies of the West had not then been discovered, and Burnaby says in his "Travels" that it was the only natural open space on the continent.

The people in the rural parts of the province remained almost exclusively Dutch for a hundred years; but New York in the end became a mixture of Dutch, English, New Englanders, French, German, and a rabble from all parts of the world. Even under Dutch rule it was said that eighteen different languages were spoken round Fort Amsterdam.

In 1682, the people having become very clamorous for more liberal government, and refusing to pay duties and taxes, the duke found that if he wished to get any revenue from New York to pay the expenses of its government and garrison he must give the people a representative assembly; and that if he continued to refuse

them this privilege he must either sell the province to the crown or have it a continual drain on his resources. Just at this time William Penn had received the grant of Pennsylvania, and had given his colonists a very liberal government and laws; and the duke, who was a close friend of Penn, was perhaps influenced by him.

In 1683 New York was given an assembly elected by the people, and the duke and his governor retained only the right to veto such acts of this assembly as did not please them. In return for this gift of liberty, the people were to raise funds to support the government and garrison.

Two years afterwards Charles II. died, the duke became king as James II., and as his title and power of duke were absorbed in royalty, New York ceased to be a dukedom and became a royal province. No longer feeling any necessity for keeping up the popular assembly, which he detested, James II. abolished it, and appointed Thomas Dongan to be governor of New York in 1686, with power to make laws as he pleased, without regard to the wishes of the people. The New England colonies were reduced by James to almost the same condition, and Edmund Andros was appointed to govern them.

Two years more passed away, and in 1688 James was driven from the throne by William

of Orange. All authority being broken in the colonies by this revolution in England, the government at New York City was seized by an absurd, blustering German, Jacob Leisler, who, by extravagant talk about liberty and by accusing every one who opposed him of being a papist, secured a large following among the mixed population of the province, which was not yet under thorough control of Englishmen.

Some such seizure was justifiable under the circumstances, for all lawful authority had come to an end; and in several of the other colonies competent men took possession of the colonial government, by a committee of safety or other means, to prevent anarchy, but always with the distinct understanding that they held it merely until the new king's pleasure could be known, and under these men the government was carried on in an orderly manner without injury to the province. It is another of those numerous instances which show the vast superiority of Englishmen in all political matters, and the instinctive manner in which in emergencies they adopt the sound and conservative course.

But when the German, Leisler, seized New York, having none of the Englishman's instinct, he threw everything into confusion. Full of insane suspicions of every one, elated, pompous, and ridiculous with the sudden possession of

power, he soon had the whole province in a turmoil. Albany refused to submit to his wild rule, and for a time the colony was ruled by two governments: one at the head of the Hudson, under the Schuyler family, and the other at the mouth of the river, under Leisler, whose reckless conduct soon brought on a horrible Indian massacre at Schenectady.

His extravagance and incompetence might possibly have been forgiven on the ground that he was holding the government in trust for the new king, and knew no better than to make a fool of himself. But when Major Richard Ingoldsby arrived from England with two companies of British soldiers, he refused to let him into the fort. His excuse was that the new governor appointed by King William had not yet arrived, and that Ingoldsby had no authority to act in his absence. There was reason for not letting Ingoldsby assume the government, but none for abusing and storming at him; and if Leisler had had a little British common sense he could easily have smoothed over and compromised matters until the arrival of the new governor, who was expected every day.

But instead of a moderate course which would have pacified everybody, Leisler was so swollen with his own importance that he could not endure the thought of parting with his

power. When he found that some of his personal enemies had been appointed to office by the king, he cried out in a passion, "What! those popish dogs, rogues—sacrament! if the king should send three thousand such, I would cut them all off!"

He collected militia in the fort to support him, and spread stories that Ingoldsby's troops were papists and disaffected persons from England who had forged their commissions. He received advice and requests from various quarters, urging him to peace; but as he seemed to be rapidly gathering his adherents into the fort and training the guns on the town, the members of the council and other respectable people collected the militia from the country and prepared to support Ingoldsby, who had quartered his troops in the city hall and was acting very quietly.

Leisler might still have escaped the worst consequences if he had not at this moment, in a fit of passion, fired a gun from the fort, with his own hands, on Ingoldsby's troops on parade. Volleys of musketry followed from both sides; several were killed and wounded; and Leisler was heating balls in the furnace to fire the town when hostilities ceased for the day. The next day a few more shots were fired from the fort; but Ingoldsby, acting very properly and pru-

dently, refrained from attacking the fort, and stood on the defensive, expecting that Leisler would attack the town.

Fortunately, at this moment Sloughter, the new governor, arrived in the harbor, and after a day's parleying and foolish threatening, Leisler surrendered. He was tried for treason, together with some of his prominent accomplices, and convicted. Most of his followers escaped punishment, but Leisler himself and his principal assistant, Milborne, were hung.

It was afterwards thought that it was a mistake to hang him, because it gave him too much the character of a martyr and continued for many years the factions and disputes which he had started among the Dutch. But he had been so arbitrary and tyrannical, imprisoning and injuring people in every way, and almost driving the Mohawk Indians into an alliance with the French in Canada, that his death was clamorously demanded by the most important people, and even women petitioned the governor to execute sentence upon him.

It has been said that Sloughter, the governor, was unwilling to have him executed, and that those who were determined to be revenged on Leisler had to get the governor drunk before he could be persuaded to sign the death-warrant. In 1695 the British Parliament reversed the

attainder of treason of all the rebels and annulled their convictions.

The prominent people and men of property had been Leisler's opponents and the lower classes his friends. The reaction against his excesses which naturally followed had put the upper classes in power, and they were determined to destroy him. In 1699, when the lower classes were more in control, under the favor of Governor Bellamont, who was inclined to side with them, the remains of both Leisler and Milborne were disinterred, exhibited in state, and reburied in the Dutch church.

The strong dislike and distrust of Roman Catholics which, as we shall see, was common in all the colonies was particularly pronounced in New York. The Dutch had had most bitter experience with the adherents of the Pope, and had more reason than the English to hate them. The Spanish Inquisition had slaughtered the people of the Netherlands by thousands. The liberty of Holland was finally gained by a long war with Catholic Spain, and was maintained for generations by a continual state of war with all the great Catholic powers of Europe, which believed that they could destroy the source of all Protestantism by crushing Holland. Nothing aroused so quickly the energy and vigilance of a Dutchman as to suggest the

existence of a Catholic plot. Leisler, when he had seized the government at New York, kept himself in power by constant appeals to this sentiment.

In 1699 a severe law was passed ordering all popish priests and missionaries to leave the province by the first day of November, 1700. If any remained after that date they were to be treated as incendiaries, disturbers of the peace, and must suffer perpetual imprisonment. Those who should escape from prison were, when retaken, to be punished with death. This seems to have been the severest of all the colonial laws against Catholics.

Many of the negro slaves in New York City were Spanish Catholics captured by Dutch vessels from the galleons, and when, in 1741, nine buildings were set on fire within a month, there was at once a suspicion of a plot among these negroes to burn the town. England was then at war with Spain, and General Oglethorpe sent word from Georgia of a Spanish conspiracy to burn all the magazines and towns of the British in America. Priests were to be employed, who, pretending to be doctors or dancing-masters, should gain the confidence of families.

This, combined with the nine fires, created a panic on Manhattan Island not unlike the Salem witchcraft delusion; for to the Dutch-

man a papist seemed more dangerous than a witch that rode a broom.

Informers appeared just as fifty years before in Massachusetts, and soon one hundred and sixty negroes and twenty-one white men were in jail. Every sort of evidence was admitted, as at Salem, and the more ignorant and sensational the witnesses were the more they were believed. They related extraordinary tales of rites performed over black rings on the floor with bowls of punch held over their heads.

Thirteen were burned to death, eighteen hung, and seventy transported. Among those hung was a white man named Ury, who was believed to have attempted to officiate as a popish priest. As in the Salem witchcraft, the excitement was checked when the informers, running short of material, began to name important persons.

Leisler's outburst ended the formative political period of New York. King William gave the province the usual colonial government of governor and council and a general assembly elected by the people, which remained unchanged until the Revolution. The original Dutch population continued in the majority, with the English element increasing very slowly. There was no serious problem in the province, except the gradual absorption and

control of the Dutch by the English; but the process was so gradual and so unconnected with exciting events that there is nothing to be said of it, except that there was comparatively little change until after the Revolution, when, the Dutch landholding system having been broken up, the New Englanders swarmed into the State.

The governors were, of course, Englishmen after the conquest, and appointed by the British crown; but the members of the assembly and many of the officials were Dutch.

At first the only change that could be noticed was that the population increased and there was more prosperity, which seems to have been caused by the more vigorous and steady government and the removal of the restrictions and burdens which had depressed the province under the imbecile rule of Holland and the West India Company.

But as the majority of the people were Dutch, there was for a long time little or no change in other respects. The men still wore the numerous pairs of trousers one over the other, and the women the innumerable petticoats of which Irving made such sport. They sat on the front stoop in the summer afternoons, and smoked their long pipes and drank their beer as contentedly under the British crown as under

their High Mightinesses the States-General of Holland. New-Year's Day was as great a festival as ever, and holidays were still made as numerous as possible throughout the year.

They remained essentially traders, and were slow in developing agriculture and very slow in advancing into the wilderness. All through the colonial period the province consisted of the town of New York, on Manhattan Island, and straggling settlements and farms up the Hudson until the next important town, Albany, was reached. Beyond Albany, to the north and westward, the settlements branched out a little, but the development in this direction was comparatively slight. It was not until after the Revolution, when the overflowing New Englanders began to cross the Hudson and the province became thoroughly Anglicized, that the real development and prosperity of New York began and the name of the Empire State was earned.

The great mass of the Catskill Mountains, extending along the west side of the Hudson from New Jersey almost to Albany, was a serious obstacle to the advance of the colonists into the interior of the province, and confined them to the narrow valley of the Hudson. In colonial times, so far as settlement was concerned, the Hudson Valley was all there was of New York.

The great region west of Albany, through the lakes Oneida, Cayuga, Seneca, and the Genesee Valley to Niagara Falls, was held by the Iroquois, as the French called them, or the Five Nations, as they were called by the English. The Mohawks lived nearest Albany, along the river which still bears their name, and they were in many respects the most vigorous, intelligent, and warlike of all the tribes. Next to them on the west came the Oneidas; and then, in order, the Onondagas, the Cayugas, and the Senecas, which last were the most numerous of the five tribes. In 1715 the Tuscaroras, a Southern tribe, defeated in war by the English settlers of South Carolina, moved up and joined the Iroquois, and were given land between the Oneidas and the Onondagas. From that time the Iroquois were known among the English as the Six Nations.

They numbered altogether about twelve thousand, and were the most civilized and powerful tribes on the continent. They were a confederacy with a regular system of representation and government, which, though not reduced to writing, was administered most effectively by their chiefs and leading men. Their national council was composed of fifty chiefs, of whom the Mohawks sent nine, the Oneidas nine, the Onondagas fourteen, the Cayugas ten, and the

Senecas eight. Their women were also allowed to hold meetings, and in important matters their advice was received with respect. They called themselves sometimes Aquanu Schioni, which meant the United People, and at other times by a name which meant the People of the Long House, possibly, as some have supposed, from the shape of their cabins, or from the long extent of their country from the Hudson to Niagara Falls.

When the first white men saw them they were already living in cabins built of wood, and they cultivated large fields of corn, beans, tobacco, and pumpkins, using stone implements to perform their work. They were more thrifty and provident than the other tribes, storing their crops against a time of want, and manufacturing rude pottery. They built strong forts palisaded with logs, which were proof against the white man's fire-arms of that time, and they made a sort of armor out of sticks and deerskins.

For many generations, and before the white men knew them, they had dominated all the tribes of the country westward to the Mississippi and southward to the Gulf of Mexico, and it has even been said that they had made hostile expeditions through Mexico and into the Isthmus of Panama. They collected tribute from the New England Indians and from the River

Indians, as they were called, along the Hudson. The Pennsylvania tribes were also their vassals, and they drove their western enemies, the Hurons and Ottawas, to the sources of the Mississippi.

Their superior intelligence and skill in the arts of their wild life gave them this dominion; and they had also by accident or natural shrewdness selected for their home the region which is the military strategic point for all the rest of the country. A glance at the map shows that from their Long House, across the lake region of New York, natural water highways led in every direction to the south and west.

On their left, as they looked south, was the Hudson; then came the Delaware and the Susquehanna with their sources along the southern edge of the house; at the southwest corner the head-waters of the Allegheny, leading into the Ohio, which leads into the Mississippi; and on the west Lake Erie with its long chain of inland seas. The rapid currents of all these streams could in a few days sweep their light war canoes into Long Island Sound, the Delaware Bay, the Chesapeake, or the valley of the Mississippi.

Military men from Washington to Grant have often called attention to the natural strength of this situation, and the Long House with the Hudson Valley is probably to-day the strategic

position for the white man's dominion, as it was three hundred years ago for the Iroquois.

Receiving fire-arms, steel tools, and textile fabrics from Europeans, the Five Nations advanced considerably in civilization during the hundred and fifty years of the colonial period. They built houses of planks, instead of logs, planted larger crops, had fields of turnips and carrots, orchards of peach-, apple-, and pear-trees, and graveyards with wooden monuments. They held the balance of power between the French in Canada and the English colonies south of them, and were in a very important sense makers of American history.

They could have annihilated New Netherland at any moment and swept the Dutchmen into the ocean, but they were not much disposed to do so. Apparently an instinct of self-preservation restrained them; and they seemed to see their true policy in becoming a neutral nation, receiving knowledge and improved facilities from the white men north and south of them, prompt to resent aggressions and insults, but content to hold the Long House intact, without any desire for vengeance or conquest that might bring upon them swift destruction. As long as they held to this policy they flourished, and when they changed it at the time of the Revolution, their doom was sealed.

The Dutch had been always well aware of the power of the Five Nations, and used the utmost care to keep on friendly terms with them. Fortunately, the Long House of these Indians was some distance from the Hudson Valley, and the Dutch, finding room enough for their purposes within that valley, did not press upon the lands of the Iroquois, and did not come in competition with them, as they did with the river tribes. Albany was at the eastern door of the Long House, and there the Dutchmen stood to receive the beaver skins from the Mohawk and the Seneca.

The great manor of the Van Rensselaers was also close to this eastern door, and on the conduct of that family in their dealings with the red man a great deal depended. Arendt Van Corlear was the Indian agent for the Van Rensselaers, and became so popular among the Five Nations that for more than a hundred years afterwards they called every governor of New York Corlear.

Close by, another family, the Schuylers, had their home and estate. They were not patroons, and had no special feudal privileges; but they owned great tracts of land with tenants, which gave them in effect the position of barons. They intermarried with the Van Rensselaers, and these two families had great influence in

New York long after the Revolution. The Van Rensselaers, it was said, furnished the money and the Schuylers the brains.

To the Schuylers, and especially to Peter Schuyler, the head of the family, has usually been given the credit of rendering most valuable service in securing the continued friendship of the Five Nations. The early Dutch traders had been very careful in their dealings with them; but the increase of irresponsible hunters and frontiersmen in the Mohawk Valley, who cheated the red men and furnished them with fire-water, and the reckless policy while Leisler held the government, were rapidly alienating them.

At this juncture, about the year 1692, Peter Schuyler began to interest himself in their affairs, and soon, by his ability and honesty in dealing with them, secured their respect. They called him Quider, which was their way of pronouncing Peter, and he was supported and assisted in his dealings with them by the families of his brothers and the Cuylers, who also had large estates in that region.

Peter Schuyler was mayor of Albany, colonel of the militia, judge of the criminal court, head of the commissioners of the colony for Indian affairs, and for many years conducted all negotiations, offset the intrigues of the French,

and defeated an invading force of the French and Indians from Canada. He took five of the Iroquois chiefs to England in 1709, where they were duly impressed with the importance of an alliance with Queen Anne; and in return for his services, Anne wished to knight him.

But with his simple-hearted Dutch frankness he declined the honor. He already, he said, had more property than his brothers' families, and a title might arouse envy and estrangement among a large connection which had always enjoyed the most united happiness and whose unity was valuable to the province.

He died in 1724, and for some years the relations with the Six Nations were not so favorable as was desired, until that romantic character, William Johnson, appeared in 1738 to take the place of Quider.

Johnson belonged to a well-known and prominent family of the gentry of Ireland. He was intended for mercantile life, but his plans were changed by the refusal of his parents to allow him to marry a lady with whom he had fallen in love. His uncle, Admiral Sir Peter Warren, owned lands on the Mohawk River which he had from his wife, one of the De Lanceys of New York, and young Johnson was sent to manage these lands and encourage settlers to come to them.

Vigorous and genial in temperament and fond of hunting, he became fascinated at once with the wild life of the frontier. He settled near the Mohawk River, west of Schenectady, and soon surrounded himself with an establishment which resembled in some respects a Carolina or Virginia plantation. He colonized and laid out farms and villages, had stores and mills, traded with the Indians, and indulged himself to the full in the sports of the forest and a most liberal hospitality in his large mansion-house, which in appearance was not unlike the plantation-houses in Virginia.

He married a German girl of the country, by whom he had several children, and after her death he had several mistresses, the favorite and most famous of whom was an Indian girl of unusual beauty,—Molly Brant, sister of Joseph Brant, the Mohawk chief. She bore him eight children, and he lived with her until his death.

He had a most numerous household,—a secretary named Lafferty, who was also his lawyer; a physician, Dr. Daly; a bouw-master to take charge of his farm; a gardener, who kept lawns and flower-beds round his house, though in the midst of a wilderness; a dwarf, who played the violin; a school-master, who taught his numerous progeny, natural and legitimate, as well as those of his neighbors; and, besides these, he had

fifteen or twenty slaves, house servants, a butler, dwarf waiters, a blacksmith, and a tailor.

He built lodges at various places for hunting and fishing, established churches and saw-mills, and introduced into the Mohawk Valley fruit culture, sheep, and thoroughbred horses. His fame spread through all the colonies, and he was petted and courted by every one, visited by governors and distinguished men, who never wearied of his conversation, and made a trustee of Queen's College, now Rutgers, at New Brunswick, New Jersey.

With the Six Nations he acquired a commanding influence from the beginning, learned their language, became familiar with all their customs and traditions, and the fierce Mohawks made him one of their chiefs. He had, it seems, a most fascinating manner and address, made up of mingled manliness and affability, which won the entire devotion of the strong as well as the weak. During his whole life he was the means of communication and friendship between all the English colonies and the Six Nations, and he saved the Six Nations from an alliance with the French. He was in constant employment, making treaties, settling land grants and small disputes with these Indians, and in an intercourse of this sort of over thirty years they never lost their confidence in his honesty and integrity.

He commanded the expedition which defeated Dieskau at Lake George, and for this victory he was made a baronet, and he certainly lived like one. His services were fully recognized by the British government, which lavished upon him land grants, salaries, and absolute power in dealing with all the northern Indians. After holding the Six Nations in check through the long French and Indian wars which followed Braddock's defeat, and preventing them from joining in the conspiracy of Pontiac, he died in 1774, just when the Six Nations were debating whether they should join the colonists or the mother country in the Revolution.

On this decision their fate depended. If they had remained neutral, as many of their chiefs counselled, or if they had joined the colonists, they would in all probability still be the Six Nations, inhabiting a country of their own in the heart of New York, and in almost as high a state of civilization as the white man. But they chose to take sides with the British, and after assisting in the campaign which ended in the defeat of Burgoyne at Saratoga, they began to massacre in the Cherry Valley, in New York, and finally made a descent into Pennyslvania, where they destroyed the settlement of Wyoming.

General Sullivan was sent to conquer them,

and, following up the Susquehanna Valley, he defeated them at the entrance of their Long House, and then invaded their pretty villages, cornfields, and orchards, which were all ruthlessly destroyed. Their alliance with the British was ended, and their spirit and existence as a confederacy broken. They relapsed into their separate tribal existence, and lost all of that interesting civilization which they had been building up so long. They became almost instantly mere ordinary degraded Indians, and their descendants are still to be seen in summer time selling colored baskets at the watering-places of Northern New York.

The New York of colonial times presents the curious picture of the vast territory from Niagara Falls to Albany an unbroken wilderness, save the occasional patches of cultivation of the Iroquois, who held the country with an iron hand, though under the shrewd influence of a most romantic and Bohemian white man. At Albany we have the great patroonship of the Van Rensselaers and the great estates of the Schuylers and Cuylers, with a large part of the population living as their tenants; and as we pass down the Hudson we meet with the manors of the Cortlandts and the Livingstons, and the great Philipse manor at Yonkers. At Manhattan Island the manors cease, and on Long Island,

after emerging from the circle of Dutch at the eastern end of it, we find ourselves among the English Puritans, who had migrated from Connecticut and established the New England system of small towns.

Colonial New York was a strong aristocracy, with nearly all the available land, except on Long Island, in the hands of a few great families, who would not part with any of it, and insisted that every immigrant that came to the province should become their tenant. This was a serious check to the growth of the colony and the principal cause of its backwardness until the system was changed after the Revolution. Immigrants, especially English immigrants, and the Puritans of New England, who were seeking an outlet for their surplus population, refused to come to a province where they were compelled to be the tenants of Dutchmen, when in Pennsylvania or New Jersey they could take up all the land they pleased in their own right.

It was very different from the aristocracy of Virginia, where there were no tenants, and each aristocrat owned a plantation, which he cultivated with slaves. There were slaves in New York, rather numerous considering that it was a Northern colony; for the Dutch had been among the earliest slave-traders, and the West

India Company had brought many negroes to New Netherland. But they were used as house servants, seldom worked in the fields, and were most numerous in the town of New York, where they caused the serious disturbance which has been described. They intensified, however, as slaves always do, the aristocratic tone of the province.

The tendency of the patroonships and manors to check development and deter immigrants was increased by a sullen though quiet hostility of the Dutch against the English. They tried their best to keep them out; and not only the patroons and great men, but the small landholders, clung to their property and refused to sell to Englishmen, who in colonial times had great difficulty in creeping into the province, except on Long Island and in the neighborhood of the town of New York. They could come in as traders and merchants, and they became numerous on Manhattan Island; but comparatively few of them could gain any real foothold in the rest of the country until after the Revolution.

Another serious injury to the progress of the colony was the corruption of its government. This corruption, having been started under the old Dutch governors, continued almost unabated after the English conquest. Dongan, an Irish-

man, appointed governor by the Duke of York, was as thrifty as Van Twiller. When the duke became king, this Dongan made use of the change, on the plea that it had vacated charters and patents, to demand that new charters should be taken and fees paid to him. New York and Albany each paid him three hundred pounds, and Rensselaerwyck two hundred pounds.

Governor Fletcher embezzled the revenue, allowed the fortifications and government houses to fall into decay, just as Van Twiller had done, and his officials made money by selling protection to pirates, and secured for themselves large grants of land. All this seems to have been done without protest from the people, who apparently regarded it as a matter of course.

As we read on through the colony's history in the eighteenth century, we find that the corruption continues. Land-grabbing and schemes to defraud the Indians of their land were numerous, and in some of these the Dutch clergy were interested. Dominie Dellius, the pastor at Albany, was charged with procuring fraudulent deeds from the Indians, and a Dutchman named Pinhorne obtained in a suspicious manner tracts four miles wide and fifty miles long by the banks of the Mohawk River.

Peter Schuyler was at first interested in this land purchase, but, unable to reconcile himself

to the fraud of the transaction, he retired from it; and it is extremely doubtful if the lantern of Diogenes could have found another man like him among the prominent men of the province.

Lord Cornbury, who was governor for a time, appropriated to his own use one thousand pounds that had been raised for the defence of the frontiers and fifteen hundred pounds that had been raised for batteries at the Narrows. He also received two thousand pounds as a present from the assembly in such a scandalous manner that Queen Anne prohibited any more such gifts. He extorted money from ship-masters, and was as wasteful and reckless with the public property as Van Twiller.

He was fond of dressing himself in women's clothes, and was frequently seen in the evening in this costume, strolling about on the ramparts of the fort with a fan in his hand; and a portrait of him, which is still preserved in England, shows him in this dress with the fan. This strange whim was either a rakish joke—for he had been heard to say that, as he was the representative of Queen Anne, who, by the way, was his cousin, he must dress as a woman—or else he was crazy. Some said it was in consequence of a vow.

The wife of this "peculiar and detestable maggot," as he was called, was in every way his

equal. He had married her, it is said, for the beauty of her ear, and when the novelty of the ear wore off, he neglected her and would give her no money. She stole clothes and other things she wanted from all her acquaintances, by borrowing and never returning. She had a lordly way of going to visit people in their houses and ordering them to send to her home anything that caught her fancy, and she had eight or ten young women whom she compelled to come to her and do her sewing. As she was the governor's wife, few in those days of great respect for authority dared refuse. When the wheels of her carriage were heard in the streets, the people would say, "Here comes my lady; hide this; hide that; take that away."

Governor Hunter devised a plan to import Germans at the expense of the British government, and ostensibly to benefit the colony by their labor in producing naval stores, but at the same time to enrich himself or Robert Livingston. There were at that time twenty or thirty thousand Germans in England who had been invited by Queen Anne to flee from cruel persecution in their native country. More had come than were expected or wanted, and, all being destitute, they had to be housed in tents in the fields near London until they could be got rid of.

They were shipped to Ireland, Louisiana, and various places, and Hunter obtained three or four thousand of them, together with a grant by Parliament of ten thousand pounds to assist his project. More than half of them died at sea from the dirt and disease of the ship. The rest were put to work on the Livingston manor; but, finding themselves in a condition of abject slavery, and discovering the fraud of the whole transaction, they deserted and scattered themselves through the country.

Many of them were given lands by the Indians, and after they had planted their crops and were flourishing, the governor informed them that they had no title to their land and must pay for it. Some submitted, and the rest were again scattered, many of them going into Pennsylvania; and ever after that the Germans, who at that period were coming to Pennsylvania in large numbers, carefully avoided New York.

The corruption of the whole system of management in New York is shown by the constant appearance of back claims against the government, invented on one excuse or another, and often thirty years old. They were paid, however, apparently without much indignation or protest, and in 1717 forty-eight thousand pounds in paper money had to be issued to meet one batch of them.

But it is needless to multiply details and describe the governors who destroyed deeds and invalidated titles so that they could gain fees by reissues, or to tell of Clinton, who made a fortune of eighty thousand pounds out of his office, or of Clarke, who, beginning as clerk of the council, became governor, and returned to England worth one hundred thousand pounds.

New York is said to have had more colonial governors than any of the other provinces, and it is not surprising, because six or seven years seem to have been long enough for any one of them to amass a fortune, and it was but fair that others should be given a chance, or a "whack," as the Irish, who now rule New York, call it.

As the judges under the old Dutch rule had been mere creatures of the governor, and compelled to submit their important decisions to him for revision, so after the English conquest we find the bench shamefully controlled by political influence. The modern corruption in New York under the Irish, and the direct buying by the judges of their seats in the courts of law, which is the worst blot on our American civilization, seem to be a direct inheritance.

It is true that a great many of the frauds in colonial New York were the work of English governors; but they were committed because

the Dutch, who composed the majority of the province, allowed them to be committed. They could have stopped it all by complaint, remonstrance, or aggressive attack; and it is noteworthy that the few people who protested against the corrupt condition of affairs were usually Englishmen, conspicuous among whom were William Smith, William Livingston, and J. Morin Scott, who founded a reform society called the "Sons of Liberty."

Rapacious and dishonest men often, in that age, sought employment under the British crown and obtained colonial appointments, and they robbed New York because her people allowed her to be robbed. Some of the men who were governors of New York were at other times governors of some of the other colonies, where they never dared even to attempt such outrages.

If such things had been attempted in Massachusetts or Pennsylvania, there would have been an uprising which would have given us some exciting pages of history; and when in Virginia Charles II. and his creatures started on similar courses of public plunder, there was instantly a bloody rebellion led by Nathaniel Bacon, which for a time destroyed the royal authority in the province.

The Dutch as a nation have had the general

reputation of being honorable in trade; but in political government and public transactions in New York they seem to have been rotten to the core, and they corrupted the English who came to them. The English governors imitated almost to the letter the methods of the old Dutch governors, because the opinion of the community had not changed, and they upheld the plundering by an Englishman as readily as they had that by a Dutch governor. We find Clarke, when he was in the midst of amassing his one hundred thousand pounds in seven years, writing home to the British government most gloomy descriptions of the prospects of the colony and the poverty-stricken emoluments of its governor, just as if he had been Van Twiller; and the people seem never to have been inclined to check him or, in headstrong Peter's words, "tell on him."

In the days of Washington and Jefferson, John Adams used to say that New York politics were always an inextricable mystery to him. If he had read the colonial history of the State he need not have wondered. The English race is by no means perfect or entirely free from corruption; but on the whole, if left to themselves, they are more honest, pure, and efficient in political matters than the Dutch, the Irish, or any of the alien nationalities which it has been

our misfortune to have in such numbers among us.

The corruption in colonial New York produced a famous episode in the development of the law of libel, known as the Zenger case. John Peter Zenger was in 1734 one of the few men who seemed inclined to "tell on" the governors and their subservient courts. Old Peter the Headstrong would have threatened to make him a foot shorter and send the pieces to Holland; but there were no newspapers in Stuyvesant's time, and Zenger had the advantage of coming out suddenly with his statement in print. He asserted in the journal of which he was editor that some one had deserted New York and gone to Pennsylvania, giving his reason:

"We see men's deeds destroyed, judges arbitrarily displaced, new courts erected without consent of the legislature, by which, it seems to me, trials by juries are taken away when a governor pleases; men of known estates denied their votes contrary to the received practice of the best expositor of the law. Who is there in that province that can call anything his own, or enjoy any liberty longer than those in the administration will condescend to let them do it? for which reason I left it, as I believe more will."

Zenger was promptly arrested by the governor's order, and when the grand jury refused to indict him, he was prosecuted by the attorney-general on information. The lawyers of New

York were at that time in as demoralized a condition as the judges, and consisted mostly of mere demagogues, pettifoggers, or worse. Two of the few good ones, Alexander and Smith, who were to defend Zenger, began their proceedings by attacking the validity of the commissions of two of the judges, De Lancey and Philipse, and for this impertinence were disbarred from practice, and John Chambers was assigned by the court as counsel for Zenger.

But when the day of the trial came, the services of Andrew Hamilton, a Quaker lawyer of Philadelphia, were secured. Hamilton was speaker of the Pennsylvania assembly, and a man of considerable learning and brilliant eloquence. The argument of the government was that, whether the libel was true or false, Zenger must be convicted because he had reviled those in authority, who were the king's representatives.

Against this Hamilton offered to prove the truth of Zenger's statements. He enlarged on the tyranny and cruelty of trying a man on information after a grand jury had refused to indict him. He described the condition of the province, and declared that free people were not bound by law to support a governor who went about to destroy it. They had a right to protest and tell their grievances. It was not the

cause, he told the jury, of one poor printer, or of New York alone; it was the cause of every freeman that lived under the British government in America.

"It is the best cause, it is the cause of liberty; and I make no doubt but your upright conduct this day will not only entitle you to the love and esteem of your fellow-citizens, but every man who prefers freedom to slavery will bless and honor you as men who have baffled the attempt of tyranny, and by the impartial and uncorrupt verdict, have laid a noble foundation for securing to ourselves, our posterity, and our neighbors that to which nature and the laws of our country have given us a right—the liberty both of exposing and opposing arbitrary power, in these parts of the world at least, by speaking and writing the truth."

This was a most apt and strong statement of the modern doctrine of the law of libel; but at that time it was not recognized either in England or America. De Lancey, the chief-justice, charged the jury directly against it. But they accepted Hamilton's view, and acquitted Zenger amid cheers and shouts, which the chief-justice could not restrain by threats of arrest. The successful advocate was given a banquet and a gold box with the freedom of the city, and a salute was fired in his honor.

The patroons and other great landed proprietors spent much of their time in the town of New York, where many of them had winter houses. Even before the English conquest the

thrifty habits of the Dutch traders had raised to wealth and refinement many of those families which now form what we have long known as the Knickerbocker aristocracy. Van Dam, Van Cortlandt, Van Curler, Philipse, Van Dyke, Van Ness, Ten Eyck, Van Schaack, Schermerhorn, Brinkerhoff, Van Brunt, Van Pelt, and Van Wart are some of the names which Irving found easy to ridicule, because they all sound absurd to English ears. It is a laughable chapter in which he describes how all these clans gathered to assist the mighty Stuyvesant in his war against the Swedes on the Delaware.

It was a curious aristocracy, unlike anything in Pennsylvania or New England; and though at first it seems to resemble the plantation nobility of the South, a close inspection shows a wide difference. There was none of the Virginian's intense love of sport, fox-hunting, racing, and cock-fighting. The Dutchman was a more reposeful aristocrat, and athletics were not within his tastes.

Though vastly more liberal-minded than the New England Puritan, he yet had a strange touch of the Puritan objection to amusements, except when indulged in by boys. A ride on a heavy Flemish horse, a peaceful pipe at the front door, where he watched the wrens and swallows, with billiards or a game of cards, was,

he thought, quite enough. He cannot be charged with the excesses of gambling, rough pleasure, and the daring speculative life of the Virginian, nor with the Virginian's intellect and creative genius in politics.

But there was much that was worthy and fascinating among the Dutch patroons, and it would have been pleasant in those days to have passed from the mansion-houses of the Philipses, Van Dams, or Schuylers to Shirley or Westover on the James, and note the contrast.

The Dutch manor-houses were often large and beautifully decorated, with chimney-pieces of carved marble, arabesque ceilings, wainscoted walls, and panels of Dutch tiles. It seems to have been not uncommon for one of these establishments to have fifty white and black servants to assist at the entertainments and take care of the house and grounds.

There was usually a large formal garden, edged with box, which was the special care of the ladies of the family, and women of the better classes took a pride in working with their own hands in both vegetable- and flower-gardens. The New York Dutch, like their ancestors in Holland, were excessively fond of flowers, which they planted in beds, each kind by itself, in a mass of bright color.

"I think I yet see," says Mrs. Grant in her "Memoirs of an American Lady," "what I have so often beheld both in town and country, a respectable mistress of a family going out to her garden in an April morning, with her great calash, her little painted basket of seeds, and her rake over her shoulder, to her garden labors. . . . A woman in very easy circumstances, and abundantly gentle in form and manners, would sow and plant and rake incessantly."

The barns were of great size, like those of the Germans in Pennsylvania, and there were large herds of horses and cattle, and fine orchards. On the Philipse manor at Yonkers there were two rent days, one at Philipseburg and the other at Sleepy Hollow, where the tenants appeared to pay in money or in the produce of the land; and after the ceremony of paying was concluded, they were all indulged in a great feast for the rest of the day in the ancient feudal manner.

The Cortlandt, the Livingston, and the Van Rensselaer manors were each entitled to send a representative to the assembly; and in some if not all of them the lord had the privilege of holding court-leet and court-baron, with very liberal powers for administering justice and punishing offences, which in the early days of the colony extended to inflicting capital punishment.

Albany and Schenectady were situated near

each other, at the eastern end of the Long House of the Iroquois, and all through colonial times they were the principal frontier towns. They were very much alike, and both were entirely devoted to the fur trade; in fact, they were the centre of the American fur trade at that time. In the early days every house in Albany was a trading store, with furs in the second story. The people kept the trade to themselves as much as possible, and down to the time of the Revolution, and even after, no outsider could transact business in the little towns without paying five pounds for the privilege.

Dutch Albany consisted of a wide and long street, called Handelaer, parallel to the river, with the space between it and the river occupied by gardens. Another street, called Yonkheer, crossed it at right angles, leading up the hill to the fort. The houses were low, with high peaked roofs, on which were gilded weather-vanes in figures of horses, lions, geese, and sloops.

The gable ends of the houses, "notched like steps," were usually towards the street, and little lawns and gardens surrounded them. From the eaves of the roofs projected long water-spouts almost to the middle of the street, which on a rainy day were very apt to drench the passer-by,

and the date when each house was built was usually let into the brick or stone in iron or black brick figures. The black bricks were used in contrast with the red to make flowers or patterns in the walls. The governor's house, it is said, had two black brick hearts on it.

The stoop or porch in front of each door was in summer, as in New York, the principal meeting-place, a sort of exchange or club for all the townsfolk. It was very churlish and rude to pass a stoop without saluting every one who was sitting on it, a custom which often made progress along the street very slow.

There they sat, smoking and watching the fluttering and swinging of the great weather-vanes; and as evening approached, tinkling bells announced that the cows were coming home. Each family had one of these patient beasts, so petted and tame that they all returned from the common pasture of their own accord in the evening, to be milked at the door under the trees. They stayed by the house all night, licking the salt and eating the vegetables that were given them; and after being milked again in the morning, walked tinkling away to their pasture.

The children ate their supper, composed principally of the milk of the cow that had just come in, sitting on the steps of the porch with

their bowls in their laps, while their elders and the youths and maidens sat on the benches above, chatting and singing.

Almost every family of any means had negro slaves as house-servants, who were treated with great kindness, brought up in the same religion as that of the family, and often became as attached and devoted to their masters as sons or daughters. The first New Year's Day after a negro woman's child became three years old it was formally presented to one of the children of the family. The child to whom it was given immediately gave it a piece of money and a pair of shoes, and from that day the little negro was the child's servant. Every member of a respectable family was presumed to be supplied in this way with a slave or body-servant.

Most of the young men began life by entering the woods to trade for furs, and in these expeditions they were accompanied by their slaves, who often saved their masters' lives, or, when wounded or sick, carried them on their backs out of the wilderness.

The last resort in punishing a refractory slave was to sell him to the West Indies, and such was the dread of this punishment among the negroes that they would sometimes kill themselves when finally condemned to it. In the town of New York the condition of the negroes

was not so ideal as in Albany. But the Albanians, we are assured, although friendly and familiar with their slaves, regarded with the greatest abhorrence any mingling of the blood of the two races. Mulattoes were almost unknown until after the Revolution, when the progress of the British army through the country could be traced by them.

In the spring of the year every boy and man became for a few weeks a pigeon and wild-fowl shooter. The wild pigeons, which are now almost extinct, existed in colonial times in countless millions. They are said to have fed in winter on the myrtle berries along the sea-coast of the Southern colonies, and on the first approach of spring they began to follow the shore, turning up the valleys of all the great rivers that led northward to the regions where they spent the summer.

When the vast flocks reached Albany, every occupation and amusement was dropped and the whole population turned out for the slaughter, which, with that of the geese and ducks, lasted for several weeks. It was not sport, for the game was too numerous and too easily killed. It was shot down by firing into the enormous flocks, and the dead were collected in the village in great heaps. In Cooper's novel of "The Chain-Bearer" there is an excellent description

of this pigeon-slaughter in another part of New York, where a cannon was used to fire into the dense masses of birds as they swept by, and it is not improbable that in many cases this could have been done.

When the spring flight of birds had ceased, the sturgeon appeared in the river, and the people all took to their canoes, following the course of the fish far up the stream, spearing them by torchlight, and often remaining two nights upon the water until they had filled their boats.

When a young man had reached the age of about twenty, and thought of marrying, he procured for himself a canoe, forty or fifty dollars, and with his negro started up the river into the woods. He dressed almost like an Indian, and soon had more than the Indian's instinct in woodcraft. His small sum of money was invested in guns, powder, rum, blankets, beads, and other articles, to barter for the furs; and his object was to press far into the wilderness and buy the skins before they got into the hands of those Indians, usually Mohawks, who habitually brought them down to the regular dealers at Albany. These expeditions were usually made in the spring, after the winter trapping season of the Indians was finished.

Paddling up the Hudson to the Mohawk, the first difficulty encountered was the high falls of Cohoes, ten miles above Albany. Here they unloaded their canoe and carried it and its cargo round the falls. After that they entered the wilderness, and penetrated to the Great Lakes or into Canada, passing many a carrying-place, where they dragged their property through dense thickets which made Cohoes seem mere child's play.

They could carry few provisions, and were obliged to depend largely on hunting and fishing; for on their outward journey the canoe would barely hold their articles of barter, and on the return it was filled with furs. The dangers of flood and field were numerous. An upset of their narrow little craft might send all their property to the bottom; and the possession of such a valuable cargo, especially the rum, was a temptation to rival Indians, or even white traders, to murder them.

They must keep clear of the Frenchman, who was an avowed enemy and always bitterly hated by the Dutch, who had won the liberty of their country against Catholic France and Spain. Their excursions directly into Canada were therefore comparatively few; so that, after exhausting the region directly north of Albany, now partly covered by the Adirondack Moun-

tains, they made their way to the west, and even far to the southwest towards Pennsylvania and Ohio. They often launched their canoes on the Great Lakes, paddling along the shores for hundreds of miles, and sometimes took the dangerous chance of crossing one of those inland seas. They followed up streams and rivers, where every day they met with a great tree or a whole mass of trees fallen across and blocking their way, through which they had to cut with their axes or carry the canoe around them.

When the toilsome day was ended, they slept by their fire in the midst of the ague-breeding vapors of the primeval forest, devoured by mosquitoes and flies. The wolves sat round them in a circle, kept at a distance by the glare of the fire, but howling at it all night long. The plenteous animal life of the wilderness, which has now passed away, was in those times flourishing in its full vigor; and a night in the forest in spring or early summer, with the wolves howling, the mosquitoes and insects buzzing and stinging, and the bull-frogs answering one another from every swamp, was an experience which, according to a man's taste and previous training, would either interest or disgust him.

The Dutchman never quite equalled the Englishman or the French Canadian voyageur in woodcraft and love of wild life. He never

penetrated so far or accomplished so much. The ocean and trade in the tropics formed the true field of his enterprise, and he was seldom highly successful in any other. But the young Dutchmen who ranged the New York woods did very well in their way, and when they had attained some distant spot far in the interior, where the furs could be had cheap at first hand, their patience and hereditary skill at bargaining procured a valuable cargo.

Then to get home with it was the question; and after incredible hardships and labors, carrying places innumerable, and nights with the mosquitoes and wolves, the deep-laden canoe was at last dragged round Cohoes Falls and floated down to the high-peaked houses and gilded weather-vanes at Albany. The boy who had started out with his negro a few months before had returned a man. Bronzed and sturdy from exposure, sedate and calm from danger, independent in bearing, and with a touch of the Indian's austerity and reticence, he sold his furs for what seemed to him a fortune, and was ready to marry.

The next year another expedition with slave and canoe was made, and the veteran woodsman was now very apt to feel an irresistible impulse towards those enterprises for which his nation had become famous. Going to New York with

his profits, he bought flour and provisions, and procured for himself and his new property a passage to the Bermudas, where he sold out at a large advance, and, purchasing one of the small cedar schooners which were built in those islands, he traded for rum, sugar, or molasses to the West Indies.

Afterwards, perhaps, he brought his schooner home and sailed her up and down the Hudson for many a day; or, satisfied with the spoil of the forest and the ocean, he became a storekeeper in Albany, with a stoop and benches before his door, and the great spout pouring the rain from the roof into the middle of the street. Sometimes, determined on still deeper tranquillity and peace, he took unto himself a farm or bouwery in the country, where he lived as contentedly as if he had never known the excitement of adventure and changing scene.

Mrs. Grant describes the Dutch at Albany as often living to a great age, which was the natural result of their thrift, cleanliness, and contented dispositions. Ninety years were frequently attained, and she knew several who reached a hundred. Like the New Englanders, they all married very early in life; but children were not as numerous as in Massachusetts and Connecticut.

The children, however, seem to have had

freer scope, and were not held down so sternly as they were among the Puritans. They associated more familiarly with their parents, and had abundance of amusement. The Albany Dutch children were the inventors of that winter amusement of coasting down hill on the snow which has since become so universal in all the northern part of the country. Mrs. Grant describes it as unknown elsewhere, and cannot understand how any one could take pleasure in it. She tells us as a matter of wonder that Albanians who had been in England and ought to have learnt something better would, on their return to their native city, go out to the hill in winter and slide down with the rest.

The Albanians, young and old, were much devoted to this excitement which they had introduced into the world. They swarmed on the street that led down the hill from the fort, one line of children whirling by on their sleds, while another line was walking up; the elder people meanwhile sitting wrapped in their furs on those stoops which they occupied with more comfort in the summer, and indulging in loud shouts of laughter when a sled was upset.

In that extraordinary list of American customs and institutions which Mr. Campbell assures us, in his "Puritan in Holland, England,

and America," was introduced by the Dutch,* there is no mention of coasting, although there is some evidence to prove its Dutch origin and none whatever to prove the origin of those he mentions. There is also very little doubt that the New York Dutch gave us the custom of celebrating New Year's Day, and possibly also originated the word crank, to describe a person of unbalanced mind. But to offset the beneficence of this and the delightful pleasure of coasting, they were the first to introduce negro slaves into the country, and they gave us that deadly compound known as the doughnut, which has wrought more destruction to American stomachs than can be atoned for by all the benefits that Holland has conferred.

In Albany the children divided themselves into companies, containing as many boys as girls, and the brightest boy and girl were the leaders of their company. These associations managed the amusements and arranged the excursions and picnics among the hills and on the river, and there was great rivalry among them. The parents encouraged them, and every child was permitted to entertain its company several times a year. On these occasions the parents went away from the house, which was turned over

* See "The Evolution of the Constitution," 315.

entirely to the children and their feast of chocolate, cakes, and cider.

Among people who married so easily and naturally, unchecked by artificial sentiments and conditions, bachelors, as in New England, were looked down upon almost as social outcasts. Each one lived in the house of some family, where he was given a room. Mrs. Grant describes them as passing in and out like ghosts, never speaking unless addressed, and seeming careless of the things of the world, like people who felt themselves above it.

They associated almost exclusively with one another, and were often very religious, or at least had the appearance of it; and occasionally one would associate with the family with which he lived and take an interest in its affairs. There were no laws, as in New England, to regulate these unfortunates who were not in sympathy with the main object of the community, and the Dutch were tolerant of them, as they were of most people whom they believed to be in error.

Their position, as well as that of the bachelors in New England, reminds us very much of those animals, solitary or rogue elephants, as they are called, in the African jungle, or buffaloes on the plains, which are often found living a morose existence, separated from the herd in which the natural life of their species is to be found. They

have been driven out, the naturalists tell us, by common consent, because they would not conform to some habit or condition necessary to the preservation of the race. Similarly, in colonial times we often find the people living such a simple life that they instinctively followed some of the primitive laws which have peopled the earth.

But when a man married in Albany he was supposed to be deprived of two pleasures which he had before enjoyed,—coasting and pig- and turkey-stealing. The people raised great quantities of pigs and turkeys, and when young men spent an evening at the tavern, their feast was not complete unless the roast pig or roast turkey had been stolen from some of their neighbors, and as a consequence, pigs and turkeys were the only sorts of property that were ever locked up in that simple community. If the owner could catch the thief in the act and cudgel him it was considered a great joke, and the thief was in honor bound to accept his beating patiently.

On one occasion a young man, recently married, heard a disturbance among his turkeys. Rushing out, he found some of his old comrades robbing him, and from force of habit joined them in a similar raid on a neighbor, and shared the spoils with them at the tavern.

Another story which the jolly Albanians

laughed over for many years describes how some people who intended to dine slipped off to a tavern, where others were preparing dinner, and stole their pig, half roasted, from the spit. But the last party, not to be outdone, threw a pile of shavings in front of the tavern of their despoilers, set it in a blaze, shouting "Fire!" and, when everybody was out of the building, recovered their pig, now completely roasted, and returned to enjoy it undisturbed.

The home of the Schuylers was called the Flats, a level stretch of fertile land about two miles long, on the west bank of the Hudson, above Albany. Lofty elms adorned the bank of the river, which was there a mile wide, and in the middle was an island with a sand-bar stretching from it. On this bar, in summer, the bald-headed eagles, the ospreys, the herons, and the curlews arranged themselves in great numbers and in long rows, standing there all day to fish for perch. A great variety of ducks, white divers, and sawbills with scarlet heads swam about in the water with the young broods they had raised on the shore.

The house which overlooked this pleasing scene, backed by the interminable forest, was quite large, built of brick, and with a wide hall-way running completely through it in the usual style of colonial times. It was full of very

valuable furniture, like the Virginia mansions; but, being a Dutchman's house, the stoop or portico was of great importance. It had benches, lattice-work, and was covered with vines, in which the birds were encouraged to build their nests. Wrens, wood-sparrows, and hundreds of other birds were protected round the house.

Mrs. Grant, like all other observers of colonial times, describes the wonderful abundance of animal life, which has now so largely disappeared from America. She was an Englishwoman, and well accustomed to the immense numbers of animals and birds which even to this day fill the fields of old England; and yet America impressed her in this respect as quite extraordinary. "Life," she says, "swarms abundant on every side; the insect population is numerous beyond belief, and the birds that feed on them are in proportion to their abundance."

She spent much time at the Flats and describes how they lived on the portico:

"While breakfasting or drinking tea in the airy portico which was often the scene of these meals, birds were constantly gliding over the table with a butterfly, grasshopper, or cicada in their bills to feed their young, which were chirping above. These familiar inmates brushed by without ceremony, while the chimney-swallow, the martin, and

other hirundines in countless numbers darted past in pursuit of this aerial population, while the fields resounded with the ceaseless chirping of many gay insects unknown to our more temperate summers. . . . This loud and not unpleasing insect chorus, with the swarms of gay butterflies in constant motion, enliven scenes to which the prevalence of woods, rising 'shade above shade' on every side, would otherwise give a still and solemn aspect."

At the back of the house was joined a smaller and lower one in which the family lived in the cold winters, with the kitchen in a sunken story directly below the dining-room. At other seasons the meals were all cooked in out-buildings and brought into the main house, an arrangement which was common in the Pennsylvania and other colonial country houses. The house contained, of course, much silver plate, and some very fine paintings which Mrs. Grant describes as of more than usual excellence.

The most strange arrangement of all was the bare skulls of horses and cattle set on every fence-post,—unseemly ornaments. But let Mrs. Grant tell of their use:

"This was not mere ornament either, but a most hospitable arrangement for the accommodation of the small familiar birds before described. The jaws are fixed on the pole and the skull uppermost. The wren thus seeing a skull placed, never fails to enter by the orifice, which is too small to admit the hand of an infant, lines the pericranium with small twigs and horse-hair, and there lays her eggs in full

security. It is very amusing to see the little creatures carelessly go out and in at this little aperture, though you should be standing immediately beside it. Not satisfied with providing these singular asylums for their feathered friends, the negroes never fail to make a small round hole in the crown of every old hat they can lay their hands on, and nail it to the end of the kitchen for the same purpose. You often see in such a one, at once, thirty or forty of these odd little domiciles, with the inhabitants busily going in and out.

"Besides all these salutary provisions for the domestic comfort of the birds, there was, in clearing the way for their first establishment, a tree always left in the middle of the back yard for their sole emolument, this tree being purposely pollarded at midsummer, when all the branches were full of sap. Wherever there had been a branch the decay of the inside produced a hole, and every hole was the habitation of a bird. These were of various kinds, some of which had a pleasing note; but on the whole their songsters are far inferior to ours. I rather dwell on these minutiæ, as they not only mark the peculiarities of the country, but convey very truly the image of a people not too refined for happiness, which in the process of elegant luxury is apt to die of disgust."

The wren, of which Mrs. Grant speaks so frequently, was in the colonial period and down to the time of the civil war very numerous about all country places in America. It is the most interesting and charming of all birds, and has delighted human hearts in every nation for a thousand years. Its sprightly neatness, appealing looks and gestures, fearlessness, and, at the

same time, apparent love for man and his habitations, have led us to ascribe to it all manner of qualities and to invent romances for its life. Jenny Wren was one of the names the English had for it, and in France it is said to have more than a dozen pet names among the people. But with us it is now seldom seen, except in remote places and solitudes. Something—perhaps disgust at our artificial, strained life, or the detestable English sparrow—has driven it from nearly all our country homes.

In the home of the Schuylers, as described by Mrs. Grant, we notice that same ability to enjoy country pursuits and create pleasures and enlightened surroundings out of one's own resources which we found in Virginia. The Schuyler house was constantly full of visitors,—prominent officials of the colony, military men, travellers, and people connected with Indian negotiations. The family were all interested in the Indians, and even Mrs. Schuyler devoted considerable time to studying their habits and character.

Having no children of their own, they adopted many from time to time, whom they brought up with the greatest care and started in life, always giving them furniture and a slave. Adoption was very common at that time, for in those natural conditions children were not re-

garded as a burden. Few people had too many of them, and any who found their families too large could easily dispose of some to those who were not so well blessed. The Schuylers, Mrs. Grant says, always adopted the children of friends or relatives who had a superfluity. They brought up in this way fifteen, besides those who came to live with them only for a year or two to relieve temporarily an overcrowded home or to enjoy the educational advantages of the society at the Schuyler house.

Near the house a large field was left uncultivated as a sort of common, where visiting Indians or travellers passing to and fro to Canada could camp. Being on the great highway to Canada, there was seldom a time from spring to autumn when this common was unoccupied. The soldiers in passing always stopped there. Every summer there was an encampment of regular or provincial troops, and when the troops had gone northward, a colony of the women and children of their families remained. To all these campers, whether white or red, vegetables, fruit, and milk were freely given from the abundant supplies of the farm.

Sometimes in winter Mr. and Mrs. Schuyler, especially in their early life, went down to New York to enjoy the society, which Mrs. Grant describes as more varied and polished than in

any other part of the continent. During the long French and Indian wars New York was the head-quarters of the British regulars, and the officers, having few duties in winter, devoted themselves to pleasure. They were sometimes profligate, we are told, but never ignorant or low-bred, and among the higher ranks of them Mrs. Grant found many finished gentlemen who had added experience, reading, and reflection to their natural talents.

Later in life the Schuylers were always at home on their country place, which in many ways resembled a Virginia plantation. Their servants seem to have been all negro slaves brought up in the family, to which they showed the greatest devotion. There were the old negro who made and mended the shoes for everybody, a carpenter, a horse-breaker, and a blacksmith who shod the horses and mended tools. Others had charge of the fishery, which was an important department, raised hemp and tobacco, or presided over the spinning and cider-making. Apparently they were more skilful and trustworthy than Southern slaves.

Mrs. Schuyler was a woman of strong character, intelligent, fond of reading, and well informed in colonial politics and Indian questions. She got more out of her country life on the edge of a wilderness than most people can now gain

in the heart of a metropolis. She managed a very large household of slaves, visitors, and children; and, as we read the account of her duties and pleasures on a summer's day, we cannot but think of the modern women whose nerves break down with the management of three or four domestics, or who have no time for amusement unless they live in an apartment house in winter and a hotel in summer.

Mrs. Schuyler began the day with reading, and breakfasted early. A short time was then devoted to giving orders about her household, and she usually had some young woman, the daughter of a friend or relative, who acted as her executive officer. Her establishment had been so long well regulated and all her people so well disciplined that its operation was very smooth. She read again until eleven, and then joined her guests and Mr. Schuyler to discuss general topics,—the operations of the army, Indian treaties, and politics.

In these conversations she and her husband were able to give most valuable information and advice to officers and officials, who often made an excuse of a summer visit to receive this instruction. Young soldiers were told of the difficulties of campaigning in a wilderness so different from anything to which they had been accustomed, and were warned of the Indian

methods of warfare which had been so fatal to Braddock and his expedition.

From her guests she went to give audience to new settlers who were taking up land and about to become tenants of the family, retainers and followers of all sorts, and people who were camping on the common and needed advice and assistance. Dinner was at two o'clock, when family, adopted children, friends, relations, visitors, and perhaps some travellers who were passing by that day sat down to a repast which was plain but very varied and abundant. There was none of the excessive feasting which we read of in other places in colonial times.

The defect, however, among the Schuylers seems to have been that they were a little too serious; and even Mrs. Grant admits that it would have been well to have had more gayety. In the afternoon visitors came out from Albany, usually young people to see the children. Walks and excursions followed, while Mrs. Schuyler sat on the portico reading or talking.

Such a life implies considerable expense, and in those days there were few interest-bearing investments by which people nowadays live. But agriculture, which has degenerated almost to the occupation of a peasantry, was then very profitable, and the resources of a great estate, even when it was largely composed of wild

land, surprisingly abundant. In all the Middle and Southern colonies there were many moderate-sized farms from which the owners, besides having a home, all they wanted to eat, and a great deal of what they wanted to wear, received an income of two or three thousand dollars a year. Rochefoucauld describes the farm of Davies Randolph, on the James River in Virginia, which, though containing only three hundred and fifty acres of cultivated land, yielded its owner eighteen hundred dollars in the worst years, and three thousand five hundred dollars in the best.

The Schuyler estate seems to have furnished large supplies in the way of ordinary provisions, and, besides this, the game of the neighboring wilderness was an additional resource. The Indians, who were very friendly and grateful for the favors received, sent in large quantities of venison and smaller game. The slaves were constantly hunting, carried guns when they went to look for the cows or on any other errand that took them away from the house, and seldom returned empty-handed, and the river was full of fish.

The great supply of game in those times added not a little to the prosperity of the colonies, and game might even now become a valuable source of food and profit, as well as pleasure, by proper

preserving; for there are millions of acres of land in the United States which are fit for nothing else.

In winter the slaves of Mr. Schuyler and of his two brothers, who had places near by, united in cutting and carrying timber to the saw-mills, where it was made into planks and staves, which were put on a vessel for the West Indies. Flour and salted provisions were added, and a member of the family went with the cargo. Any slaves who had proved themselves too refractory for endurance were also taken aboard; and the lading of this ship every spring was such a terror to all the negroes that it usually resulted in a temporary reform of even the worst.

Arrived at the islands, a return cargo of wine, rum, sugar, coffee, chocolate, and other products was taken on, and all that was not needed by the family or their friends sold at Albany. The return of the vessel and the distribution of the cargo was one of the great events of the year; and visitors, in return for hospitality, were constantly sending presents of wine, fruit, oysters, or whatever was choice at their homes.

In time the lumber industry of the river increased. The logs were made into great rafts, which floated down majestically with the cur-

rent. The man in charge lived upon the raft in a little house with his family; and it was a pretty sight on a fine day to see the mother calmly spinning near the door, the children sporting about over the logs, and the father fishing.

In the neighborhood of the Schuyler estate and all through the colony Dutch remained the language of most of the people until the Revolution, and then was slowly replaced by English. There seem to have been some efforts made to encourage the acceptance of English, for in 1776 we read of children punished in school for speaking Dutch. In general it may be said that the Dutch characteristics held their own quite strongly until about the year 1800. As late as 1840 there were still a great many old people who spoke Dutch almost exclusively, and, as in the case of the Pennsylvania Germans, their language had become a debased dialect, full of English words, and not worth preserving.

The concentration of the land in a few hands helped to preserve the Dutch characteristics and held back in an inferior position the province that was capable of being the greatest of all. The Dutch population was very slow to enter the Revolution, and the toryism or indifference of New York was a cause of much anxiety to the patriots. But there were some individuals

who were very earnest and forward, Alexander Hamilton, John Jay, Alexander McDougal, Isaac Sears, Philip Livingston, J. Morin Scott, and George Clinton, with whom was associated an eminent Dutchman, General Philip Schuyler. Although founded as early as the New England colonies and almost as early as Virginia, New York for some time after the Revolution held only the fifth place in population and importance.

In 1780 efforts were made to break up the land system, and laws were passed abolishing the feudal tenures. But the patroons and landlords avoided these acts by putting feudal tenures in their leases. In 1812 another attempt was made, but without success, and the irritation among the people increased. The New Englanders had now been overflowing into New York for some years. They began to come about the time of the Stamp Act difficulties, attracted by the fertile land, and the migration steadily increased. More vigorous, keen, and aggressive than the Dutch, filled with hatred of aristocracy and landlordism, and forever talking of liberty and independence, they were by no means welcome either to the old ruling class or to the masses of the people.

They were mostly rural Yankees, impudent, inquisitive, grasping, sharp, drawling in speech,

and utterly without manners,—a class which has now fortunately passed away, but which once furnished the stock material for Charles Dickens and other English writers who ridiculed Americans. Occasionally, in remote parts of New England, you may find survivors of this class, and if one should fasten himself on you, as they are apt to do, you will never forget him.

Mrs. Grant describes their arrival and the terrible break they caused in the happiness of her own family, as well as in that of all the people whom she knew. "Conceited, litigious, selfish beyond measure, vulgar, insolent, and truly disagreeable," as she calls them, they squatted on the land as they pleased, overreached in every bargain, and railed at aristocrats and "King George's Red Coats."

"Obadiah or Zephaniah, from Hampshire or Connecticut, came in without knocking, sat down without invitation, and lighted their pipe without ceremony; then talked of buying land; and finally began a discourse on politics which would have done honour to Praise God Barebones, or any of the members of his parliament." ("Memoirs of an American Lady," p. 286.)

Mrs. Knight, a bright woman, who kept a diary of a journey she made on horseback in 1704 from Boston to New York, shows the same dislike for the rural Yankee. At a house where she stopped for the night, the landlady,

instead of telling her that she would be received or attending to her wants, drawled out,—

"Law for me, what in the world brings you here this time a night? I never see a woman on the Rode so Dreadful late in all my versall life. Who are you? Where are you going?"

Then, when Mrs. Knight's guide appeared, she turned to him with, "Lawful heart, John, is it you?" and kept up her questions until Mrs. Knight, unable to endure it any longer, stopped her.

At one point in her journey she met a girl who had been riding with her father thirty miles a day on a lean, hard-trotting horse, with only a bag for a saddle. "Lawful heart, father," she said, "this bare mare hurts me dingily. I'm dreadful sore, I vow."

But these horrible people were the making of New York, which would never have prospered under her heavy Dutch population; and, as Mrs. Grant laments, they soon converted the Dutch to their detestable habits. The long spouts which poured the water from the eaves on people in the streets of Albany disappeared, and picturesqueness and slow thrift gave place to energy and enterprise. Irving has described the astonishment with which Rip Van Winkle, when he awoke from his long sleep, saw the evidences of this change.

In spite of its large foreign population, the Anglo-Saxon has always been the best as well as the final controlling influence in New York. The Dutchman had his day of power, but the descendants of the Vikings slowly, surely, and without effort or haste absorbed both him and his works until, in the constitution, laws, and framework of the State, there remains scarcely a trace of the Hollander. The Irishman still has his day of political corruption on Manhattan Island, and a most evil one it is ; but he too will melt away before the race that has never had its equal in the world.

This influence of the New Englander was strikingly shown in the New York Constitutional Convention of 1821, already referred to in the chapter on Connecticut. Out of its one hundred and twenty-six members, thirty-two were natives of Connecticut and nine of Massachusetts.

The Yankees could not endure being tenants under the system which gave the landlord every advantage and made the tenant his slave. Their agitation increased every year against the leases and contracts, which were becoming more burdensome than ever under the ownership of a great corporation called the Holland Land Company.

After the Revolution the fertile tracts in the

interior of New York attracted speculators from all parts of the country, who hoped to enjoy the advantages of laws which were so favorable to the landlord, and the Hollanders joined in the rush, with the aid of this company. A map of the State, prepared in 1775, shows the central portion in the lake country, the old home of the Iroquois, laid out in large blocks, some numbered and others called Virgil, Homer, Dryden, Solon, Ovid, Scipio, and similar names, which are still retained by many of the towns in that region.

The journal of John Lincklaen, who was the agent of the Holland Company, gives us glimpses of these speculators: Cazenove, from whom Cazenovia was named, and others who were enthusiastically wandering through the woods with guides and surveyors, expecting great wealth from tenants and the maple-sugar industry.

Cooper's novel "The Chain-Bearer" gives another point of view of the life of some of the great landlords and their difficulties. Many of them, however, were successful, notably the Wadsworth family from Connecticut, who established themselves in the beautiful valley of the Genesee, where their descendants still live, and where there are still interesting country places, fox-hunting, and rural pleasures,—rather unusual now in America.

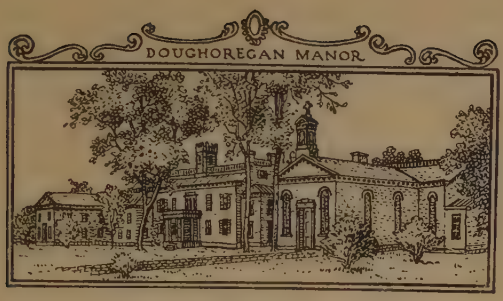
In 1836, under the influence of the Yankees, the resistance to the land system became so pronounced that when a rumor was started that the Holland Company intended to enforce its liens against the people, a mob in Chautauqua County destroyed the land office with all its records. Three years afterwards, when the Van Rensselaers attempted to collect long arrears of rent and to enforce other rights which would give them a quarter title to the land, there was another outbreak, accompanied by bloodshed, and the assistance of the militia had to be obtained.

In these disturbances William H. Seward had his first opportunity for distinction, and displayed those qualities which afterwards gave him a statesman's career in the civil war. But the land question was settled very slowly, and as late as 1866 the militia had to be called out to stop a land riot in Albany County.

In consequence of the influx of the New Englanders and their progressiveness, New York grew very rapidly, and by the time the Erie Canal was completed, in 1825, was the most populous State in the Union. The canal added another chapter of atrocious political corruption to the long history of this sin in the Empire Commonwealth; but the effect of this water highway on material prosperity was enormous, and modern New York, as we know it to-day, is the

result. Farm products on the line of the canal increased fifty per cent. after 1825, villages and factories sprang up by it, land rose in value, population increased by rapid strides, while the canal poured the products of the boundless West into New York harbor to increase her commerce and ships, and all this was followed by railroads, which performed the same task.

Apthorpe House, Harlem Heights



CHAPTER IX

PURITAN AND CATHOLIC ON THE CHESAPEAKE

ABOUT twenty-five years after Virginia was established on the southern part of Chesapeake Bay, the family of Lord Baltimore took possession of the northern half of the bay for their colony, called Maryland. As the Baltimores were Roman Catholics, there has been much discussion of their motives in founding their colony; and the colony, as the only attempt to establish a Roman Catholic community in the British possessions, had a very peculiar history.

George Calvert, the first Lord Baltimore, occupied a rather curious position in England. It has been generally supposed that he was born, baptized, and brought up in the Church of England. He was a graduate of Trinity College, Oxford, and, after travelling on the continent of Europe, he became secretary to Sir

Robert Cecil, who had been one of the secretaries of state under Queen Elizabeth, and became Lord High Treasurer and Earl of Salisbury under James I. Cecil seems to have thought highly of young Calvert, and he was advanced in public employment until he became a favorite and trusted counsellor of James I., who made him his Secretary of State. He was also a member of the House of Commons, where he devoted himself to obtaining supplies for the king and to supporting his policy.

Calvert was soon interested in colonization schemes, and was a member of the Virginia Company. He also obtained in 1614 a grant of part of Newfoundland, and called his province Avalon, a name which it still retains.

Attracted by the valuable fisheries of the Banks, he seems to have expected to make a fortune out of this enterprise, or to establish a refuge for the English Roman Catholics. He spent twenty-five thousand pounds of his private fortune in building granaries, storehouses, and a handsome house for his own residence, without at all realizing the barren nature of the country.

About the same time that he received this grant of Avalon he publicly announced that he had become a Roman Catholic, and immediately resigned his office of Secretary of State. There has been much discussion and not a little violent

controversy among the Protestants and Catholics of Maryland about this resignation. The view usually maintained by the Catholics is that Calvert had been recently convinced of the truth of Romanism, and conscientiously announced his conversion, at the same time resigning an office he could no longer consistently hold under a Protestant king, and was willing to sacrifice all his prospects of advancement for the sake of his new faith.

But the evidence, which has been well summarized by Mr. J. P. Kennedy in the pamphlets he wrote in the controversy, seems to show that Calvert had been a Roman Catholic for some years before he resigned, and that he was forced to resign by a movement in Parliament to drive from office all persons of Catholic proclivities.

The contest among the members of the Church of England, the Puritans, and the Roman Catholics was at that time raging with great violence in England, and it was a question which should capture and control the government. Under Queen Mary, the Catholics had been in power and had slaughtered the Protestants without mercy. Under Queen Elizabeth, the Protestants of the Church of England held the government and took their turn at persecuting; but the Catholics continued the struggle, and were as-

sisted by the kings of France and Spain, under whom the Spanish Armada was sent, in the hope of making England papist at once and forever.

Although this great attempt of the Armada failed, plots of all sorts continued. The Pope claimed the power to depose monarchs, and, when deposed, their subjects were at liberty to assassinate them. He deposed Elizabeth, and an attempt was made on her life by an English Catholic. In the reign of James I., a few years before Calvert's resignation, some Catholics had organized the gunpowder plot to blow up Parliament. To defend the country against these attempts, and to retain possession of the government, the Protestant Parliament had enacted very severe measures against the Roman Catholics, with the intention of extirpating them from England. They were prohibited from performing the rites of their religion in public, and monthly fines and confiscation of their property were inflicted on them.

These laws were passed by the Puritans and the members of the Church of England. But King James, as head of the English Church, found the Puritan party growing too strong to suit his purposes, and he often favored the Catholics as an offset against the Puritans. He compromised their fines and forfeitures, and had

several avowed or secret Catholics in high office as his advisers.

Calvert seems to have been one of these. He was of great assistance to the king, and favored the marriage of the Prince of Wales to the Spanish Infanta. He also, no doubt, was able to give much aid to the Catholics, save them from difficulties and loss of property, and help to secure more toleration for them from the government. But Buckingham and the Puritan party in Parliament were determined to enforce with greater strictness the laws against the people who were believed to be the enemies of England, and Calvert was compelled to resign his office.

There had been nothing dishonorable in his conduct of keeping his new religion to himself, although it was not so dramatic and striking as the sudden conversion and conscientious resignation for which some of his admirers contend. Hundreds of English Catholics at that time kept their religion a secret, and, if they had property to preserve or any worldly ambition or desire to gratify, secrecy was absolutely necessary. Calvert took the part of wise discretion and moderation, which enabled him to be of service to his own people, and he could have been of no service to them whatever if he had not been in power.

He had attained to such a position of eminence that the public announcement of his religion did him comparatively little harm. He suffered from none of the fines and confiscations which were inflicted on the obscure or unimportant. On the contrary, the king had such an appreciation of his ability that he retained him in the Privy Council, raised him to the Irish peerage the next year as Baron of Baltimore, and he sold his office of Secretary of State to his successor, after the manner of the time, for six thousand pounds.

He wished to go to his province of Avalon in Newfoundland, but the king detained him; for as an avowed Romanist he was almost of as much use to the king as he had been before the announcement of his religion.

Charles I., who succeeded King James in 1625, continued the same favor. Calvert was not required to take the oath acknowledging the supremacy of the Church of England, and he got leave to embark for his province of Avalon. He soon returned to England, and in 1628 went out again to Newfoundland, taking with him his family and a number of colonists. He probably intended that his province should be a source of profit to himself and at the same time a refuge for English Roman Catholics, just as William Penn intended that Pennsylvania

should advance his own fortunes and at the same time shelter the Quakers.

He, however, soon saw the hopelessness of accomplishing anything among the fogs and icebergs, and, abandoning Avalon, he sailed to Virginia with the intention, apparently, of either settling there or of exploring the country to see what part of it he should ask a grant of from the king. His real intentions on this as on other occasions of his life are obscure. His own position, as well as that of the Catholics in England, had made discretion and silence habitual, and it was seldom safe for him to make his purposes conspicuous.

But he had scarcely landed in that royalist and Episcopal colony when the officials offered him the oath of allegiance, which also acknowledged the supremacy of the Church of England, and on his refusal to take it, he was quietly told that he must depart. He had attempted to enter the place of all others where his presence would be most resented, and there is evidence of some indignation among the Virginians, and a record that Thomas Tindall was to be pilloried for two hours "for giving my Lord Baltimore the lie and threatening to knock him down."

Leaving his wife and some of his children in Virginia, he returned to England and obtained a grant of land which included the southern part

of Virginia and the northern part of North Carolina; but through the efforts of people interested in Virginia, this grant was revoked and he was given a tract north of the Potomac, which, however, was also a part of Virginia.

King Charles suggested that it be called Mariana in honor of the queen. But Lord Baltimore, with characteristic shrewdness, replied that it was also the name of a Spanish Jesuit who had written against monarchy, and the king thereupon proposed Terra Mariæ, which was adopted. The charter was written in Latin, and is the only one of the colonial charters the original of which is in that language. But before Lord Baltimore could receive it he died. His wife and several of his children, whom he had left in Virginia, had been lost at sea a few months before in returning to England.

His eldest son, Cecil Calvert, received the charter, which was confirmed June 20, 1632. It was almost precisely the same as the charter which had been granted for Avalon, and many of its provisions were followed in the charter granted fifty years afterwards to William Penn for Pennsylvania. It created a great feudal proprietorship, and introduced on the American continent the feudal system, which was gradually disappearing in England.

Lord Baltimore was to own all the land and

the colonists were to be his tenants, paying him a small quit-rent for every acre they held of him. He was to be the ruler and governor of the province, and also was given the right to make laws with the assent of the freemen or their deputies.

The most curious part of the charter was that it allowed Lord Baltimore to levy duties on goods imported to the colony. Such an extraordinary power to tax the products of the mother country was never again granted in any charter, and it was probably given in Baltimore's charter only because there had been little or no experience in managing colonies up to that time, and the government was disposed to encourage them in every possible way by privileges and favors, so as to extend the empire of Great Britain and check the expansion of the Dutch at New York.

Besides this favor of taxing imports, there was another clause in the charter by which the crown bound itself never to tax the people of the colony or their property. The usual situation of affairs was reversed, and, so far as taxation was concerned, Maryland was almost in the position which the mother country occupied towards the other colonies.

But it made very little difference in the final result, for the British government never allowed Maryland to take advantage of her right to tax

imports. In subsequent charters such privileges were not given; and in the Pennsylvania charter, which in many respects resembled that of Maryland, the privilege of taxing imports was omitted, and a clause inserted which, while it prohibited the king from taxing the colonists, gave Parliament full authority to do so.

Cecil Calvert immediately set to work to carry out his father's intention, and here we meet with another subject of much controversy in Maryland history. It has been said that the colony was founded on the principle of religious liberty, and was the first colony in America where that liberty was established.

But the religious liberty which prevailed in Maryland under the Roman Catholics was forced upon them by circumstances which they could not avoid. Neither the Church of England, the Puritans, nor the Catholics believed in religious liberty at that time. Each believed in a state church established by law, and each was intent on establishing its own faith by force, to the exclusion of every other.

The grandiloquent phrases in which the first settlement of the Maryland Catholics at St. Mary's on the Potomac is described as the home of religious liberty, and its only home in the wide world, can deceive only the ignorant. A few years before the Puritans had established

a home for their religious liberty at Boston. Both the Puritan and the Catholic were seeking what was called at that time freedom to worship God. The phrase meant precisely the same in each case, and each hoped to be let alone, with no opinions near them which they did not accept.

The only difference between the Puritans at Boston and the Catholics at St. Mary's was that, the majority of the people in England being Protestant, the Puritan colonists were not regarded as dangerous, or as likely to be in league with the Pope and the kings of France and Spain in their designs against Great Britain; and they were accordingly let alone, and tacitly allowed to establish their religion and intolerance by law. But the Catholic colonists dared not establish their religion to the exclusion of others. It was a question in the minds of most Englishmen whether these people, who believed in the authority of a foreign power to depose English kings and foment rebellion against them, and who were continually plotting the overthrow of the British government, should be allowed to exist at all, and they would certainly never have been allowed to establish their peculiar system and theories as the exclusive system of a British colony.

In Virginia and Massachusetts, which were

then the only other colonies in existence, Catholics were in effect excluded; and during the whole of the colonial period, although there were a few Catholics scattered about in all the colonies, they were barely tolerated; and even when their presence and worship were allowed, it was generally considered unsafe to permit them to take any part in government. Under these circumstances the founding of a colony which should freely receive them was something of a feat, and it is probable that there were few, if any, people in England who could have accomplished it except the Baltimores, with their inherited influence at court and their habitual shrewdness and moderation.

Whether their opinions were in reality moderate, whether they accepted the extreme views of the power of the Pope over the English government, or whether they would have favored an attempt by the kings of France and Spain to inflict Catholicism on England by force, are interesting questions which have been discussed at times, but which cannot be answered, for the Baltimores expressed no opinions and made no arguments. They could not, like the Puritans of Massachusetts or William Penn and his Quakers in Pennsylvania, glory in their enterprise or explain it at large. If a colony to which Catholics could resort was to be estab-

lished at all, it would have to be done quietly and unobtrusively, and in that case the least said the better.

Cecil Calvert prepared two vessels, the Ark and the Dove, and bore the whole expense of the expedition, which was forty thousand pounds. He collected emigrants, whose numbers have been variously stated at two hundred and three hundred; but it would seem from Cecil Calvert's own account that there were a few over three hundred.

Under the rising power of the Puritans the laws against the Catholics were now being more rigidly enforced than ever, and doubtless there were many who would have been glad to go but for the risk they ran of attracting more attention to themselves by seeming to establish a province of their own faith, which would at once be suspected of assisting the king of France to control the British throne. But a large number of the emigrants were Protestants, who may have been purposely obtained so as to avoid the charge of founding an exclusively Catholic community. Indeed, some writers have asserted that it is probable that the majority were Protestants; but the highest estimate that can be relied upon does not give the proportion of Protestants at much above a third.

Many of the emigrants were persons of means

or position, and they all seem to have been a steadier and less adventurous class than the early settlers of Virginia. Cecil described them as composed of two of his brothers, "with very near twenty other gentlemen of very good fashion, and three hundred laboring men well provided in all things."

Only by the high favor at court which Cecil had inherited from his father was he enabled to take these people out of the country. The Puritans seriously objected to the establishment of such a colony anywhere in the British possessions, every obstacle that could be devised was placed in its way, and Cecil found that he needed the full force of his influence at every step.

Charles I. and the officers of his government no doubt felt that as a few years before they had relieved the country of some very troublesome and dangerous people by letting the Puritans go to Massachusetts, so now they were lessening their difficulties for the future by getting rid of a few hundred Catholics.

Cecil almost slipped his people away without the oath of allegiance. In fact, he had got them all on board and they had gone to sea when Lord Coke, the Secretary of State, informed Admiral Pennington, who went in pursuit of the Ark and the Dove and brought them back. This

was a serious matter, and the Jesuits and more than half the company immediately deserted the ships and went to the Isle of Wight.

When the "London Searcher" arrived, he found only one hundred and twenty-eight people to whom he could administer the oath. This oath had been rendered necessary by the Pope's bull freeing all English subjects from their allegiance to the crown, and by the position of hostility which the Catholics had assumed towards the government. It was an oath which was extremely difficult for a Catholic to take. He was obliged to swear that the king was lawfully a king, that the Pope had no power to depose him or to license his subjects to rebel against or assassinate him, that he would bear true allegiance to the king, that the Pope could not absolve him from this oath, and that the oath meant exactly what it said, and was taken without any mental or secret reservation whatsoever.

To allow Catholics to depart for the purpose of founding a colony in America without the sanction of this oath was considered utterly out of the question, and even the king had no power to help Cecil out of this predicament.

But Cecil's people seem to have been well able to take care of themselves. The one hundred and twenty-eight who took the oath

were presumably the Protestants of the expedition, who had no objection to it, and perhaps some of them were Catholics who managed to settle such matters with their consciences in a way of their own. It is most likely, however, that these one hundred and twenty-eight were all Protestants, and show the exact number of that faith among the emigrants.

When the searcher asked the captain if there were any more, he was informed that "some few others were shipped who had forsaken the ship and given over the voyage." The one hundred and seventy people or thereabouts whom the captain described as "some few others" were all waiting at the Isle of Wight, and were picked up there when the Ark and the Dove were finally allowed to proceed; so that the principal part, if not all, of the Catholics of the expedition got away without taking the oath at all.

It was the 22d of November, 1632, when those who had dodged the oath were taken on board, and all started on the long voyage of those times down to the Azores and Canary Islands, across to the West Indies, and then up the coast to Chesapeake Bay. They spent the winter in the West Indies, and reached Point Comfort in Virginia on the 27th of February. They had some apprehension of serious inter-

ference from the Virginians; but the letters of safe-conduct given by the king protected them, and, proceeding up the Chesapeake, they established themselves on the north bank of the Potomac, at a place they named St. Mary's.

Cecil Calvert had remained in England, and sent out with the colonists his brother Leonard as their governor, who experienced none of the difficulties and hardships which had befallen the Virginia settlers at Jamestown. St. Mary's was a more wholesome spot, and the waters swarmed with wild fowl, fish, and oysters.

Some islands in the river near St. Mary's they called the Heron Isles, from the immense flocks of that species of bird which were found upon them. One of the earliest accounts of the colony describes the "eagles, bitterns, herons, swannes, geese, partridge, ducks, red bleu parti-colored birds and the like" which appeared everywhere in countless numbers. As for fish, they were in even greater abundance: bass, blue-fish, rock, shad, perch, and sturgeon mingled with the pompano and bonito of the South. Prodigious quantities could be taken with very little trouble. As late as 1763 the *Maryland Gazette* recorded that one haul of a seine at Kent Island brought in one hundred and seventy-three bushels, which were sold at two shillings sixpence a bushel.

They seem to have planted fruit-trees immediately, which flourished beyond all expectation. Within twenty-two years the orchards were a conspicuous feature about St. Mary's. Peach-, quince-, apple-, plum-, chestnut-, and walnut-trees, as well as grape-vines, grew luxuriantly, and are described by travellers in language so enthusiastic that we might doubt its truth if it were not confirmed from so many sources. In colonial times, in Maryland, Pennsylvania, and New York, there seems to have been some influence peculiarly favorable to the growth of fruit-trees, which were not so short-lived or so barren and diseased as they have since become.

Both Leonard Calvert and the Jesuits were very judicious in their dealings with the Indians. The colonists, though few in numbers, were for a long time left undisturbed. But as they increased and began to spread out the jealousy of the red man was aroused, in spite of all the efforts of the Jesuits. Murdering and fighting began, and growth and prosperity were checked for many years, as in Virginia and Carolina.

For the first ten years of its existence the colony prospered fully as well as could be expected, increasing slowly but steadily in population, until after twenty years the people are supposed to have numbered about eight thousand, gathered round the original settlement of

St. Mary's, in the extreme southern part of the province, and slowly and cautiously spreading out from it. They had small clearings, where, like the Virginians, they immediately began the cultivation of tobacco, which became the money of the province, and they kept close to the water, having few roads, and depending for their transportation on boats.

The policy of having Protestants in the colony was carefully continued by the Baltimores. In his first advertisement for settlers, Cecil Calvert had announced that he would accept people of all religious faiths, and he issued a proclamation forbidding "all unreasonable disputations on points of religion tending to the disturbance of the public peace and quiet and to the opening of faction in religion."

This order seems to have been enforced in at least one instance. Two Protestant servants were reading aloud, when a Catholic, William Lewis, entering the room, heard some such expressions as that "the Pope was antichrist and the Jesuits antichristian ministers," whereupon he exclaimed that it was a falsehood and came from the devil, as all lies did, and that all Protestant ministers were the ministers of the devil, and he forbade them reading the book. The servants, in a state of great irritation, are said to have prepared a petition to the governor of

Virginia, which was to be signed by all the Protestants in the colony; but before they could accomplish anything the matter was brought before the governor and his court, and Lewis was reprimanded and fined five hundred pounds of tobacco for his "offensive speeches" and "disputations."

Calvert dared not act otherwise than very liberally towards the Protestants. The slightest attempt to make Catholicism exclusive, or the slightest infringement of Protestant privileges, would have lost him his province. He could build up his province only by avoiding all offence to Protestants both in England and in his colony. The stock story which has just been given of the punishment of a Catholic for offensive speech to a Protestant shows the constant danger he was in; for the Protestants in that instance threatened at once to appeal to Virginia, and nothing would have pleased the Virginians more than to have received such an appeal, which they could have made use of with much effect.

Although the government of Virginia was obliged by the letters of the king to offer no opposition to Lord Baltimore, the Virginians were eager to resent the occupation by Catholics of a territory which had been carved out of their own province and on which some of their people had already settled.

Puritan and Catholic on the Chesapeake

One of the Virginians who had settled within the limits of Maryland before the date of Lord Baltimore's charter was William Clayborne, who had a trading station of some importance on Kent Island and another on Palmer's Island, near the mouth of the Susquehanna. He refused to submit himself to the jurisdiction of Lord Baltimore, and, assisted by Protestants in both Virginia and Maryland, carried on a petty warfare of annoyance until Leonard Calvert sent two armed sloops, which, meeting Clayborne's vessels in the Pocomoke River on the 23d of April, 1635, fought what has been called the first naval battle of America.

Clayborne was defeated, his island seized, his property confiscated, and Cecil Calvert's influence with the king prevented the Virginia government from taking sides with its unruly citizen. But the Virginians, especially the Puritans among them, sympathized with Clayborne, and before long they all had an opportunity for revenge.

Charles I. was now having serious difficulties with the Puritans. They were in open rebellion, and Cromwell was becoming their greatest leader. After the battle of Marston Moor, in 1644, the Puritans in England were in the ascendant and those in the colonies correspondingly elated. Many of the Virginia Puritans

joined those already in Maryland, and, assisted by these, Clayborne attacked Kent Island, and, after taking it, went over to the west side of the bay and captured the settlement at St. Mary's.

Leonard Calvert fled to Virginia, and for two years Clayborne and the Puritans were masters of the province that had been founded for Catholics. The Jesuits were seized and sent in chains to England, many of the Catholics driven into banishment, and those who remained fined and stripped of their property. Thus, after a comparatively peaceful existence of ten years, Lord Baltimore's colony, so far as it was a Catholic community, was wiped out of existence.

In his retirement in Virginia, Leonard Calvert soon found that the royalists of the colony were willing to assist him. They had no interest in him as a Catholic, but they were trying to hold Virginia against Cromwell and the English Puritans, and they were willing that Calvert should defeat the Puritans in Maryland. Hill, who was acting as Puritan governor of Maryland, was unable to keep order, and within two years many of the people under him were very willing to have the Catholic proprietors restored.

Governor Berkeley, of Virginia, furnished Calvert with a small force, with which, in August, 1646, he repossessed himself of his

former authority at St. Mary's without striking a blow. But Kent Island, Clayborne's stronghold, held out until subdued in the following spring, and soon after, in June, 1647, Leonard Calvert died.

Cecil Calvert had now to solve the difficult problem of retaining possession of his Catholic colony with Cromwell and the Puritans in power in England, and he went about the task in the only way that was possible. He appointed as governor, in 1648, William Stone, a Virginia Protestant, and bound him by a long oath, in which, among other things, he swore that he would not directly or indirectly molest for their religion any one professing to believe in Jesus Christ, "and in particular no Roman Catholic."

Having thus protected the Roman Catholics from the Protestant governor, he proceeded to protect the Protestants from the Roman Catholic legislature, and under his directions the assembly of the year 1649 passed the law which has become known as the Maryland Toleration Act. It provided, under penalty of fines, imprisonment, and whipping, that no one professing to believe in Jesus Christ should be molested in his religion; that no one should blaspheme God, deny the divinity of Christ or the doctrine of the Trinity, or speak reproachfully of the apostles or the Virgin Mary; and that no one in

a reproachful way should call any one a heretic, schismatic, idolater, Puritan, Presbyterian, Independent, Popish priest, Jesuit, Jesuited papist, Lutheran, Calvinist, Anabaptist, Brownist, Antinomian, Barrowist, Roundhead, Separatist, or use any other name relating to religion in a disrespectful manner.

Clayborne and the Puritans were still at work as active enemies, and, being unable to attack and capture the colony, they spread rumors that the Protestants of Maryland were persecuted. To offset this, the "Protestant Declaration," as it was called, was obtained in 1650. It was a document signed by the governor, the Protestant members of the assembly, and many other leading Protestants of the province, declaring that under the Toleration Act they were enjoying full freedom in the exercise of their religion.

There were now many Puritans in Maryland who had been driven from Virginia by the severe measures of the Church of England royalists against them. They did not settle among the Catholics at St. Mary's, but went north of them and took possession of the country on the Severn River where Annapolis now stands; so that the colony was divided into a Catholic and a Puritan section. The Puritans, although living very much to themselves, were restive and uneasy at the thought that they were under a government

in the control of Catholics, and they particularly objected to the oath of fidelity to Lord Baltimore, which they were compelled to take in words which described him as an absolute lord of royal jurisdiction. Cecil Calvert, with his usual moderation and tact, softened the oath to suit their scruples.

But in avoiding danger to his province from the Puritans, he found that he had unexpectedly offended another influence. Charles II. was then an exile in Holland, without so much as the shadow of power in the British dominions; but, offended at the leniency which his professed friend, Cecil Calvert, had shown to the Maryland Puritans, he deposed him from his proprietorship because he "did visibly adhere to the rebels in England," and appointed in his stead Sir William Davenant, who sailed for the province with a colony of Frenchmen.

If Davenant had reached the Chesapeake he might have involved Lord Baltimore in very serious difficulties with Cromwell, who would in all probability have made short work of the Catholic colony, which thus far had been allowed to exist by sufferance; but, fortunately, Davenant and his Frenchmen were captured in the English Channel by a Parliamentary cruiser.

By good luck Cecil Calvert had escaped this danger, which might have proved his ruin; but

he was soon involved in another, in which there was but little chance for a happy accident in his favor.

Cromwell and the Parliament had settled their affairs in England, and in 1650 were ready to take up the subject of the colonies, and wherever it was necessary reduce them to submission. The New England people were all Puritans, and required no attention. The only other colonies on the continent at that time were Virginia and Maryland. Of these, Virginia had been as openly and palpably royalist as New England had been Puritan, and no one questioned that a fleet should be sent to subdue her. But about Maryland there was some doubt, and in the act of Parliament which was passed to authorize the sending of ships to the disaffected colonies in the West Indies and on the American continent, Maryland was not named.

Immediately, however, a clamor was raised that Maryland should be included. Many people had always been of the opinion that it was a mistake to allow the establishment of a Catholic colony, and they seconded the efforts of the Puritans who had been followers of Clayborne. So strong was the agitation that some of the Protestants in Maryland, fully believing that Lord Baltimore would lose his charter, refused to elect members to the assembly.

The question whether Maryland should be included in the expedition to reduce the Barbadoes and Virginia was debated at times for many months in the Council of State, and Cecil Calvert's arguments before that body show very clearly the careful policy by which he had preserved Maryland for twenty years.

The governor of his colony, he said, was already a Protestant in religion and a Roundhead in politics. He read the Declaration signed by the leading Protestants of the province asserting that their religious liberty was undisturbed; he exhibited and explained the Toleration Act which had been recently passed, and by the testimony of several merchants and traders he proved that Maryland had received and protected the Puritans who had been driven from Virginia.

He made, indeed, a very strong argument, and the only weak point was that after the execution of Charles I., while Governor Stone had been absent in Virginia, Thomas Greene, who was acting as governor, had foolishly issued a proclamation declaring Charles II. the rightful heir to the throne. But, to atone for this, Cecil showed that Governor Stone had immediately on his return disowned and recalled this proclamation.

The name of Maryland was finally omitted from the instructions, although twice inserted.

But, unfortunately, Lord Baltimore's enemies had procured the insertion of the general words, "to reduce all the plantations within the Chesapeake Bay to their due obedience," and one of the commissioners appointed to go with the two ships which composed the expedition was the troublesome William Clayborne.

On the voyage out one of the vessels was lost, but the other proceeded and, after reducing the Barbadoes to submission, reached Virginia, where the people, under the lead of Governor Berkeley, by a sufficient show of force and preparations for resistance obtained the very liberal terms which have already been described. Clayborne then, in March, 1652, went with the ship to St. Mary's, in Maryland, where, under the clause which empowered him to reduce all the colonies in Chesapeake Bay, he declared that no matter what the good conduct of the colony had been in the past, it must now expressly admit its submission to the authority of Parliament.

Governor Stone hesitated about yielding to this demand, which gave Clayborne the opportunity and excuse he wanted. He at once deposed Stone, declared all acts of the proprietor void, and appointed six commissioners to govern the province. He went back to Virginia, and after being appointed secretary of state in that

colony, he returned to Maryland, where he appointed Stone governor, to rule with the six commissioners until the fate of the province should be finally settled by the Parliament in England.

The conflict was now transferred to England, where Lord Baltimore and the agent of the commissioners argued their respective positions before Parliament. The petition of the agent of the commissioners was dismissed; but Parliament being soon after dissolved by Cromwell, and the Dutch war coming on, the subject was dropped, and Lord Baltimore took advantage of the situation to re-establish his authority in Maryland, which he accomplished in 1654.

As soon as Clayborne and his fellow-commissioners heard of this, they determined on another invasion which would completely extirpate the Catholics of Maryland. Proceeding quietly at first, they demanded submission from Governor Stone, which he at first refused. But the Catholics besought him to yield, for the Protestants were rapidly joining themselves to Clayborne, and if the Catholics resisted by force, it would be remembered against them in the future. This was in the line of policy which they and Lord Baltimore had always followed. They must have a reputation of assisting and protecting Protestants; for the

moment that they became known as fighting and resisting, they would have the whole English nation against them.

So Maryland passed again into the possession of Clayborne. An assembly was summoned for the following October, and no one who had borne arms against the Parliament or was a Roman Catholic could become a member or vote in the election. When the assembly chosen in this way met, an act was passed protecting Protestants of all opinions, but expressly refusing protection to Catholics, and forbidding any one to take the oath of fidelity to Lord Baltimore.

Cromwell was now well established as Lord Protector of England, and it became his interest, as it had been the interest of Charles I. and James I., who had preceded him, to preserve a balance among the various warring factions, and secure the support even of Catholics. Cecil Calvert had submitted to his authority, and his appeals to him were not in vain. Clayborne and the other commissioners received a letter from Cromwell, ordering them to refrain from disturbing Lord Baltimore in the possession of his province until his dispute with Virginia about boundaries could be settled in England. At the same time Calvert sent a messenger to Stone, upbraiding him for submitting so tamely, and

ordering him immediately to restore the authority of the proprietor.

Stone could do nothing in the northern part of the province on the Severn, where the Puritans were in almost complete possession; but he organized a force of about one hundred and thirty men among the Catholics of St. Mary's, and immediately captured a magazine of arms and the records of the colony, which were in the possession of some of the Puritans on the Patuxent. On the 20th of March, 1655, he set out northward against his enemy's stronghold at Providence. Part of his force marched by land, and the rest proceeded in boats along the shore.

The Puritans sent him some messages professing a willingness to submit under the condition of having the liberty of English subjects; but Stone paid no attention to them, and kept as prisoners the messengers, who had no doubt been sent merely to delay him or discover the disposition of his force.

He entered the harbor of Providence, now Annapolis, late in the evening, where he found that the Puritans had secured the assistance of a merchant vessel, the Golden Lyon, which opened fire on him. The captain of the Golden Lyon, Roger Heamans, was an ardent Puritan, and has left us an account of the battle. Stone turned aside to avoid the fire from the ship,

landed in a creek, and went ashore for the night. The next morning he moved down openly upon the enemy, who appear to have been gathered at the water-side and on board the Golden Lyon.

When the Puritans saw him coming under the black and yellow flag of Lord Baltimore, they sent Captain Fuller with one hundred and seventy men to make a circuit and get behind him; but Stone seems to have turned and faced this force, and it was with them that the battle was fought.

Fuller set up the standard of the Commonwealth, and quietly waited till the Catholics fired upon it. Then, with the Puritan war-cry that had recently resounded over so many fields of England, "In the name of God, fall on!" they rushed to the charge. The Catholics shouted, "Hey for St. Mary's!" but the Cromwellian onset swept them from the field. The whole of Stone's force was killed or captured, except about five, who made their escape. "God," says one of the Puritan chroniclers, "did appear wonderful in the field and in the hearts of the people;" and Captain Heamans relates with true Puritan unction how they took among the spoil "their Pictures, Crucifixes and rows of Beads, with great store of Reliques and trash they trusted in."

Stone was wounded, and ten of his prominent

followers among the prisoners were immediately condemned to death, but only four were executed. A general confiscation of property followed, and the commissioners urged on the home government that not only should Lord Baltimore be deprived of his province, but the province should be restored as a part of Virginia, from which it had been unlawfully separated by the charter granted by Charles I.

Cromwell was uninfluenced by any of these requests. He regarded Lord Baltimore as a man who had submitted himself to the new order of things in England, who by his own efforts and largely at his own expense was adding a colony to the British empire, and he cared nothing for his Catholic opinions, which, in his case at least, were moderate and harmless. The Committee of Trade and Plantations took the whole question into consideration, and meanwhile the Puritans ruled Maryland for a year, and imprisoned the new governor whom Lord Baltimore appointed. The decision of the committee was wholly in favor of Lord Baltimore, and by their report of September 16, 1656, his authority was restored.

But he could obtain possession only of St. Mary's. The Puritans still held the Severn and the northern country. They had in their possession the records and great seal of the

province, and they elected an assembly and carried on the government as if their authority was undisputed. This state of affairs continued for another year, when an agreement was signed by Lord Baltimore and Samuel Matthews, one of the leaders of the Puritans, which reads like a treaty between two independent nations, and, indeed, describes itself as a treaty.

After six years' contest with the Puritans, during which time Lord Baltimore had been alternately in and out of power in his province and never in full possession, he was now fully restored. By gifts of land and other favors he amply rewarded those who had stood by him, and provided for the support of the widows and children of those who had fallen in his cause.

There was another rebellion in 1660 when Charles II. was restored to the throne; but it was soon suppressed by Lord Baltimore's brother, Philip Calvert, who was sent out to be governor. The next fifteen years, until 1675, passed in prosperous tranquillity. Philip Calvert was succeeded in 1661 by his nephew, Charles Calvert, eldest son of Lord Baltimore. In those fifteen years the population is supposed to have increased from eight thousand to twenty thousand, most of it composed of Presbyterians, Independents, Baptists, Quakers, and a few members of the Church of England. The Catholics

were only about a fourth of all the people, and some estimates make their numbers even smaller.

As a refuge for the Catholics, and as a Catholic colony, Maryland was not a success. It offered no advantages to people of that faith, and many of those who had settled in it were inclined to go away. In fact, when we consider all the contests and the confiscations of Catholic property, it is rather surprising that any of them were willing to remain.

Lord Baltimore had done his best; but, under the rising power of Cromwell and the Puritans, to have filled Maryland with Catholics would have been to invite destruction, and he was compelled to let his colony become merely a source of profit and distinction for himself. Instead of an asylum for the persecuted of his own faith, he was obliged to encourage Puritan refugees from the royalist colony of Virginia, and make his province an asylum for the people who were the enemies of his faith. He played the rather peculiar part of a Roman Catholic protector of Puritans.

We know little of his personality or opinions. He left no writings, and made no arguments or appeals that have come down to us. His colorlessness in this respect is in strange contrast to that other great proprietor of colonial times, William Penn, who founded Pennsylvania.

There were a number of these feudal proprietors who were given vast tracts of land in America, from which they all expected wealth and power. Besides those of Carolina, there were the proprietors of New Jersey, of New Hampshire, and of Maine. But, with the exception of William Penn and Cecil Calvert, they were all wretched failures.

Penn was an impulsive, enthusiastic man, devoted to philanthropy, liberty, and all the progressive movements of his day, who committed himself on every occasion, who told the world all that he thought and felt, who argued openly on all the great political and religious questions of his time, and whose letters, essays, and pamphlets have come down to us in several volumes. Of Calvert's opinions we scarcely know a single one with certainty; and while he was evidently a man of determined purpose, there is no evidence that he was an enthusiast on any subject.

In establishing a refuge for the people of his faith, Penn succeeded and Calvert failed. But Penn had little or no shrewdness in business affairs. His children grew very rich from Pennsylvania, but he himself lost money by the province, was cheated by the manager of his estates in England, and was at one time imprisoned for debt. He had no skill in judging character,

and made most unfortunate mistakes in choosing his agents and governors. But Calvert was an incarnation of discretion, tact, and adroitness, with a natural instinct for governing which compelled the admiration and respect even of those who opposed him. The assembly of his province constantly voted him supplies and levied taxes for his benefit, which, in spite of all the turmoil and the money he had expended, enabled him to live through those trying years without bankruptcy.

There was a general resemblance in Maryland life to the life of Virginia, and yet with differences which show the gradual change in climate, soil, and topography of a more northern latitude. Maryland was close to the dividing line between South and North, and, while she was decidedly Southern, her civilization had a touch of the North.

The Marylanders occupied both sides of the upper half of the Chesapeake, in the same way that the Virginians occupied the lower half, taking advantage of the large rivers and estuaries that poured into the bay. Their first settlements clung to the shores of these rivers, and they penetrated backward into the interior very slowly. They travelled from place to place and exchanged their products usually in boats, and gradually developed for that purpose types

of sailing vessels, small, fast, and convenient, which now survive in the buckeye and sailing canoe which are still seen in their waters.

The plantations were at first all on the river-shores, and each planter had his own wharf, where the ships from England came for his tobacco, and delivered to him the tools and manufactured goods he required, as in Virginia, without the aid of towns and local merchants. As plantations were established in the interior, the tobacco was brought down to the river-side in hogsheads, to which an axle was attached, so that they could be rolled and drawn by a horse. Narrow roads were cut through the forest for this purpose, which were called rolling roads, and many of them are still known by that name.

Each plantation was a little village and community in itself, like the Virginia plantations, but on a smaller scale than in Virginia; and in fact all the resemblances to Virginia were in miniature. Tobacco was not so excessively cultivated, and for some years before the Revolution large quantities of wheat were raised, especially on the eastern shore, which built up many flour-mills and allied industries in Baltimore.

The colony was cut in half by the wide bay, and the eastern and western shores were almost distinct communities, as they are to this day. To keep them united and to avoid controversy,

great pains were taken to make the two sections equal in privileges, and give them the same representation in the legislature. The eastern shore was more given to wheat-growing than the western, and in many ways seems to have shown less resemblance to Virginia. Those large tracts of scrub oak and pine on the western shore which we now pass through on the railroad in going from Philadelphia to Baltimore are the old worn-out tobacco lands.

Traffic and communication being usually accomplished by boats, there were few roads. The country almost to the time of the Revolution was largely covered with forests, with plantations carved out of it along the winding shores of the bay and its rivers, and away from the water the plantations became fewer and more widely separated.

On these patches cut out among the trees the slaves broke up the land with great hoes, for the plough was seldom used except in new ground. The overseer rode about among them on horseback, with broad-brimmed hat, his whip under his arm, and his gun strapped to his back. He might want to defend himself or shoot game, or perhaps he might see in the woods a runaway negro or indented servant, whom every one was in duty bound to seize. In later times wood-rangers were employed to capture runaways.

They scoured incessantly the swamps and lurking-places, and any stranger wandering aimlessly about was apt to be bluntly asked, "From whom have you run away?"

At the planter's house, after you had struggled through the circle of yelping hounds which crowded with you up the steps, you found the same rude plenty as in Virginia. Among the upper classes you found a well-furnished mansion, with gazettes, copies of the "Spectator" and British poets, with works on agriculture, and a family of no little pretension in dress and behavior. They led a jolly social life with all their neighbors, and had often been to the Annapolis balls in winter. But if, in the midst of your investigations, word was brought that a ship from England had come into the mouth of the creek, instantly you were deserted. Everybody rushed off to the shore to bargain for clothes, supplies, and knick-knacks, or hear the news; and you were lucky if you could find an old crippled negro woman to give you a meal.

Attempts were made from time to time to improve the few roads, which were mostly mere trails in the woods; and there was a curious road law passed in 1704, which provided that any road which led to Annapolis should be marked on both sides with two notches on the

trees, and where it left another road, with the letters AA cut into a tree. Roads on the eastern shore that led to Port Williamstadt, now Oxford, were to be marked in the same way with two notches and the letter W. Roads which led to county court-houses were to have two notches and a third some distance above; roads leading to ferries were to have two notches all along, and where they turned aside from other roads, three notches at equal distances from each other; and where a road turned off to a church it was to be marked with "a slip cut down the face of the tree near the ground."

That devotion to out-door life and sports which was so conspicuous in Virginia we find repeated in Maryland. Game was so abundant that the accounts of it now read like fairy-tales, and in some respects it seems to have been more abundant than in Virginia. Not to mention the crabs and oysters which could be gathered on every shore, wild turkeys were often seen in flocks of a hundred, and deer were so numerous that some families lived on venison alone for nine months of the year. Alsop, who was a redemptioner, describes the family to which he was apprenticed as having hanging up on one occasion the carcasses of eighty deer.

From November to April the ducks, wild geese, and swans swarmed in the Chesapeake

in such prodigious numbers that the writers of the time describe them as covering the water in compact masses like turf, filling the air like a cloud, and the vibration of their wings "like a great storm coming through the trees." Flocks a mile wide and six or seven miles long were sometimes seen feeding near the shores of the bay. They were shot from the shore without difficulty as they rose from the water or passed a point, and a man could often fill an ox-cart with them after four or five hours' shooting.

Every one was compelled to have arms, and for a long time ships were obliged to pay their port dues in gunpowder and lead. Most of the men had long, heavy duck-guns. An indented servant was supposed to practise shooting every Saturday afternoon, and when he was set free at the close of his term of servitude his master was obliged by law to give him certain clothes, shirts, shoes, two hoes, an axe, and "one gun of twenty shillings value, not above four feet in the barrel nor under three and a half feet."

Dogs which are said to have been a cross between the Newfoundland and the Irish wolf-hound were bred for retrieving the ducks; and they would swim far out into the bay in winter to fetch a cripple or attack a wounded swan. Attended by one of these dogs, the sons of the planters would stand up to their knees in water

on a cold day on the outer edge of a marsh, loading and firing their long-barrelled guns at the canvas-backs; and return to drink rum punch and Madeira, smoke their clay pipes, and play cards till midnight. If they went to visit a neighbor's for a similar carouse and there were not beds enough, they spread a blanket on a sofa or on four chairs, near the fire, and snored with the dogs and pickaninnies.

These young men often went to the frontier, where they adopted the Indian dress, even to the breech-clout, and, exchanging the long shot-gun for an equally long rifle, hunted wild-cats, deer, bears, and panthers. When once they had tasted of this life, it was extremely difficult for their parents to get them home again. They clung to their Indian dress, would raise the war-whoop to frighten peaceful villagers, and sometimes insisted on going into church with their breech-clouts, which did not assist the devotion of the congregation.

A large part of the abundance of birds lasted down to the middle of the present century, and those who can remember the shores of the Chesapeake at the time of and before the civil war have most pleasing recollections of the interest created by this wonderful exuberance of animal life. It was not merely the ducks, but the quail, the rabbits, the foxes, the song-birds,

the blackbirds, and the wild doves in incredible numbers. On winter nights, on a Maryland farm, the sleeper would be awakened by a rumbling like distant thunder, when a vast mass of thousands of ducks rose from the waters of the bay or river. When summer came the small birds made it impossible to sleep after daylight, and the woodpeckers bored their holes into the eaves of the house.

In colonial times troops of horses ranged wild in the woods, as in Virginia, and were hunted with the same zest, and dogs were often bred to assist in the sport. Every Marylander and many of the women were fox-hunters; and Chief-Justice Taney, in his autobiography, describes himself as inordinately addicted in his youth to this sport.

A Maryland fox-hunt was often a long one; for many of the foxes went straight away, and not infrequently, on the eastern shore, crossed the peninsula from the Chesapeake to Delaware Bay. The horses used were not valued for their jumping power, but for endurance in a long ride through woods, swamps, and fields. If the hunters could not return home by night, they were welcomed at the nearest plantation, and a grand feast prepared, with drinking, dancing, and card-playing far into the night, and then to sleep on the floor before the fire if there were not beds enough.

The Marylander was a duck-shooter, a sailer of swift canoes, a most indefatigable rider to hounds, a hard drinker, and a heavy eater, and all these things he enjoyed in the greatest abundance. But, strange to say, it was not until after the year 1800 that he discovered the deliciousness of the terrapin.

The capacity for eating two or three ducks to a man, with enormous quantities of hominy and goblets of rum punch and Madeira, has passed away from the American race, along with the abundance and leisure which gave such a zest to their existence, in spite of agues and bilious fevers. The old planter, swollen with gout, bandaged his feet for the fox-hunt, shouting with the youngest, hauled the seine on the shore at the head of his negro gang, or rose early in the morning to go out and fish his weirs.

The women of his family followed very much the same pleasures, and lived in the saddle; rode to balls in the evening, with a scarlet riding-habit over their white satin ball-dress, most extraordinary figures, with handkerchiefs tied over the enormous mass of their puffed and pomaded hair, and their hoops spread out lengthwise on the horse.

To any one who wanders nowadays among Maryland farms and sees the almost total extinc-

tion of the birds and all kinds of animal life, it is a melancholy reflection to remember what once was. At houses where formerly as soon as you arrived a man went to the shore and with one haul of a small net took more fish than the family could eat in two days, you can now scarcely buy a fish of any kind.

The fields and the whole country are well cultivated, but songless, deserted, and stupid. No troop of baying hounds salutes you, shaking their long ears and pawing and entangling your feet, and the pet hawks and eagles and strange sights and sounds are gone. It was a mistake to allow all this life of pleasure to be ruthlessly extinguished, and the people are none the better for it.

The province was almost as townless as Virginia, but the natural conditions seemed to show somewhat more reason for the existence of towns, and the legislature at times made most frantic efforts to create them. At one time, in 1706, it attempted to bring forth forty-two of them in one litter, and many other efforts were made which were not quite so ambitious. The fate of nearly every one of them was swift and sure. They were staked out in the middle of fields or woods, and divided into lots of an acre each, with streets and alleys. The original owner of the land was given one lot, and the rest

were distributed to whoever would take them in consideration of an annual quit-rent of a penny to the Lord Proprietor. Then when the failure of the attempt was evident, an act of the legislature was passed by which the tract of land was "untowned" and reverted to its former owner.

On the death of Cecil Calvert, in 1675, after his long rule of over forty years, his eldest son, Charles, became Lord Baltimore and proprietor of Maryland. Cecil had always governed the province from England, but Charles was sometimes in England and sometimes in the province. The peaceful conditions that had blessed the last fifteen years of Cecil's rule continued for a time; but Charles soon had difficulties and dangers of his own, the result of changed times in England. He was not so lucky in meeting them as his father had been, and lost the province.

The feeling of unrest and incipient revolt which had always characterized the Puritans of the northern half of the province was still strong, but there were no opportunities for an outbreak. Fendall, who had led the rebellion at the restoration of Charles II., was at large and engaged in one or two conspiracies for the overthrow of the proprietary power, but they were of trifling importance and easily suppressed.

Almost immediately after Charles Calvert took the government, the Church of England

people appeared as a distinct party in the community and sent complaints to England. One of the clergy wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury that the Catholic priests were provided for and the Quakers could take care of themselves, but that no measures had been taken for the advancement of the established church, which had only three clergymen; and as a consequence religion was despised, notorious vices committed, and the colony had become "a Sodom of uncleanness and a pest-house of iniquity."

Charles, who was then in England, resisted this attack, which he knew was intended to accomplish the establishment of the Church of England by law in Maryland, as it was already established by law in Virginia. He argued against it before the Privy Council, giving the old reasons which his father had so often given, that every form of Protestantism had full religious liberty in Maryland, that the majority of the people were Protestants, and that if any particular church or sect was not succeeding, it was its own fault.

He had not inherited, it seems, the full measure of his father's influence, for the Privy Council decided against him. They announced that there should be some maintenance for the clergy of the established church, that Lord Bal-

timore himself "should propose some means for the support of a competent number" of them, and that the laws against vice should be promptly executed. It was certainly a strange predicament for a Roman Catholic proprietor to be obliged to establish the Church of England in his own colony, and a difficulty into which Cecil Calvert had never fallen.

The question, however, was dropped for a time, and Charles returned to Maryland, where he took means to have laws passed for the suppression of vice and the better observance of Sunday. But the Puritans and Fendall were still at work, and the feeling against Roman Catholics was at this time aroused to new activity by the supposed "popish plot" which the infamous Titus Oates professed to have discovered in England.

Charles had to meet fresh complaints sent to England, which this time accused him of partiality to Catholics. He again repeated the old arguments, adding that the offices of government were divided equally between Protestants and Catholics, that the command of the militia was given almost exclusively to Protestants, and these assertions were supported in a document signed by prominent members of the Church of England. But the fear of trusting the adherents of the Pope with any governmental power had

become very strong in England, and the ministry ordered that all public offices in Maryland should be given to Protestants. The colony was evidently becoming less Roman Catholic than ever.

William Penn had been given his vast province of Pennsylvania in 1682, and Charles Calvert was soon involved in a boundary dispute with him, which was continued by the two proprietors and their descendants for the next seventy years.* About the same time serious complaints were made against Calvert for allowing his officials to obstruct the collection of the royal revenue tax on tobacco. Two of the king's revenue officers were killed, and Calvert received a severe reprimand from the crown, was ordered to pay at once the two thousand five hundred pounds of duties which had not been collected, and was reminded that only the clemency of the king had saved his charter, which could have been forfeited for such misconduct.

His misfortunes steadily increased. James II. came to the throne in 1685, and, as he was a Roman Catholic, it might be expected that Calvert would now enjoy in the fullest manner the favor of the crown; but, instead of that,

* For a full account of this controversy, see "The Making of Pennsylvania," p. 318.

James had scarcely been king two years when he began proceedings to annul the Maryland charter and bring the province into more immediate dependence on the crown. He had taken similar action, as we have already seen, in some of the other colonies.

Andros was made governor of all the New England colonies, and soon after New York and New Jersey were added to his jurisdiction. Pennsylvania, however, escaped entirely, for Penn was a close friend and favorite of James. But the Calvert family seemed to have lost all their favor and power at court, and to have incurred the hostility of the monarch who was of their own faith. In truth, after the death of Cecil the family steadily degenerated.

Charles inherited none of his father's courtier skill. He spent a great part of the time in Maryland, enjoyed the life he led there, and expressed a decided distaste for England. As a governor in direct contact with his people he was very successful, and, if we can accept as sincere the votes of gratitude, thanks, and admiration for his beneficent rule which the assembly passed, he must have been very popular. But he failed to appreciate the absolute necessity of a strong connection in England and at court; and the more he lived in the province the more he acquired its point of view, lost his position as an English

nobleman, and unfitted himself for acquiring influence with the king.

Before the proceedings to annul his charter could be consummated, William of Orange landed in England and drove James from the throne. Charles Calvert was now in England, whither he had gone to save his charter, and he had left a man named Joseph as temporary governor of Maryland. The contest between the Protestant William of Orange and the Catholic James II. renewed the fierce antagonism between the two religions which had been slumbering for years. The Maryland Puritans were alert and suspicious, and Calvert soon had some of his usual bad luck.

He had submitted himself to King William, and sent a messenger, ordering him to be proclaimed sovereign in Maryland. The messenger, unfortunately, died on the route, and the Puritans heard of all the other colonies proclaiming William, but had no instructions for a proclamation from Lord Baltimore. Virginia, always ready to seize such an opportunity, sent complaints to England, and some of the Puritans started a story that there was a Catholic plot to destroy the Protestants with the assistance of the Indians.

Messengers arrived reporting thousands of Indians assembled at certain points, and when

none were found, they were reported farther on or in other places. John Coode, who had been concerned in previous rebellions, busied himself as a leader, and Kenelm Cheseldyn, Blakiston Beebe, and Colonel Jowles were active participants. An association was formed to protect the Protestant religion and the sovereignty of King William and Queen Mary. By the 16th of July, 1689, a small Puritan army, under the command of Coode, was collected on the Potomac, announcing that it was prepared to protect the Protestants from the papists and Northern Indians, who intended to descend on the province in August "when roasting ears were in season."

Coode and his followers soon seized the government at St. Mary's and published a Declaration of charges against Lord Baltimore and his methods. He had been building up his own power in the colony at the expense of the sovereignty of the crown, and to name or own the king's power was sufficient to incur the frowns of his lordship. He had affronted the king's officers of the customs, had forcibly detained one of them, and another one had been murdered by an Irish papist. He had oppressed the people, established popish idolatry instead of the churches and chapels of the ecclesiastical laws of England, given the most fertile lands to

Romish churches, and forfeited the lands of the Protestant ministry. He had vetoed the best acts passed by the assembly, disposed of Protestant orphans to be brought up in Romish superstition, separated a young woman from her husband and committed her to the custody of a papist, imposed excessive fees, seized Protestants in their houses by armed forces of papists and committed them to prison without warrant, allowed no redress for outrages and murders committed by Catholics, and used every means to divert the obedience of the people from the new Protestant king and queen.

His agents, the priests and Jesuits, the Declaration continued, had used solemn masses and prayers for the success of the popish forces in Ireland and the French designs against England, and on every side could be heard protestations against their majesties' right to the crown and vilification of their persons. For these reasons the people of Maryland had taken up arms to vindicate and assert the sovereignty of King William and to defend the Protestant religion.

Such was the Protestant indictment of the proprietary Catholic government of Maryland. Some of the charges seem exaggerated, but the obscurity and confusion of the colony's history make it extremely difficult to test the truth of any of them. Coode was soon in possession of

the whole province, for the Catholics were powerless to offer any resistance, and in every quarter surrendered on demand. An address was then sent to the king, announcing that Maryland had been rescued from his majesty's enemies "without the expense of one drop of blood," and that it was held to await his further orders in regard to it.

Addresses to the king, asking him to take the colony under his direct protection and government, were soon prepared in all parts of the colony, signed by hundreds of names, and sent to England. The majority of the people were unquestionably in favor of the rebellion; but there was a respectable minority of Protestants who sent counter-addresses, accusing Coode and his followers of falsehood, tyranny, and misgovernment, denying all the charges against Lord Baltimore, and asking that his government and province be restored to him.

On this occasion Charles Carroll, founder of the family of that name, appears for the first time in Maryland history, and his letter to Calvert describes in strong language the confusion and misery in the province and the destruction of cattle and property under the rule of "such profligate wretches as Coode, Thurling, and Jowles, and such fools as they have poisoned by the most absurd lies that ever were invented."

In England, however, William III. took the side of the Maryland Protestant majority, approved their action, and accepted the province as they offered it to him. The leaders of the rebellion had held the government for six months before the king recognized them, and he instructed them to continue to hold it for him and keep the peace.

Meantime the Privy Council considered the charges against Lord Baltimore, and in August, 1690, a year after the rebellion had begun, ordered the attorney-general to proceed against the charter and collect proof of the proprietor's misconduct. At the same time the Puritan council in Maryland sent to the king a document in which they renewed the charges against Baltimore, declared themselves ready to prove them at any time, and added other "insolencys, misdemeanors, and outrages" which had been recently perpetrated by his agents. A certain tax on tobacco had, they said, been misappropriated by his lordship, who was now in arrears to the province at least thirty-six thousand pounds; but the exact amount could not be discovered, because his agents refused to show the account.

The proceedings against the charter were never completed, and there never was a final decision either for it or against it, which was un-

fortunate, because it has left the charges of Baltimore's misgovernment and oppression neither proved nor disproved. William III. finally grew tired of the slow procedure and took possession of the province without regard to Baltimore's rights, and the proceedings against the charter were abandoned. Sir Lionel Copley was sent out in August, 1691, to be the royal governor, after the leaders of the rebellion had been holding the province for two years.

Baltimore's ownership of all the land of the province and his quit-rents and revenues were, of course, left unimpaired, and in this respect he was in as good a position as ever. The political power or right to govern was all that was taken from him.

William III. had also in the same way deprived Penn of his right to govern Pennsylvania, without in this case even attempting to forfeit his charter. The chief reason for depriving Penn of his political power seems to have been that, the military force of the colony being weak and likely to continue so under Quaker rule, it might at any time be captured by the French or other enemies of England. Penn had also been a close friend of the dethroned James II., and might reasonably be suspected of favoring him. But Penn was a Protestant, and soon cleared himself of all suspicions; so that his

government was restored to him within less than two years, while the Baltimores were kept from theirs for twenty-five years, when, as they had become Protestants, it was restored in 1715.

Under the new royal government almost the first act of importance was to establish by law the Church of England, and a yearly tax of forty pounds of tobacco on each taxable person was to be levied for its support. Maryland was now no more a Catholic colony than were the other colonies which contained a few Catholic citizens.

The Maryland Catholics were principally collected in St. Mary's County, on the Potomac, in the extreme southern part of the province, where the first landing and settlement had been made, and which always had been the seat of government. In 1694, however, it was decided to move the seat of government to the old Puritan stronghold which had been called successively Providence, Anne Arundel Town, and afterwards Annapolis, which was nearer the centre of the province, and in a more fertile and prosperous part of the country.

The people of St. Mary's, foreseeing the results, resisted this movement, but in vain. The presence of the seat of government had been their only hold on prosperity; and when it was removed, being unsupported by natural advan-

tages, the interesting old town of so many contests and memories wasted away until it became as much of a desolation and ruin as Jamestown in Virginia.

St. Mary's had been the only town of the colony, and when the seat of government was moved to Annapolis, that, in its turn, became the only town; for Maryland was very much like Virginia in its civilization, with all the people living on plantations, which on the western shore were usually for tobacco and on the eastern for wheat.

The Protestants and their new government had progressive ideas and made every effort to improve Annapolis. They built a brick statehouse and a free school, also of brick, which was the first attempt at general public education that had been made in the colony. The free school in Annapolis, named King William School, was soon under way and flourishing; but the design of the people and the assembly was to establish a free school in every county, and from time to time acts were passed for this end, levying taxes on furs, beef, and some other exports. Assistance was obtained from England, the Archbishop of Canterbury was persuaded to encourage the undertaking, fines, forfeitures, and escheated estates helped to swell the fund, and after some years the schools were established

under the control and encouragement of the Church of England.

The metropolis and centre of life in colonial times were always at Annapolis, which occupied very much the same position as Williamsburg in Virginia. The wealthy planters resorted to it for the dances and assemblies, and many of them lived there in substantial houses, where they indulged in the most extravagant hospitality. The governor's house and the homes of the Carrolls and the Pacas were the principal scenes of this festivity.

Situated on a peninsula overlooking the river and bay, with a view across to the eastern shore, the town was laid out with great care. A large circle was made on the highest point, which was occupied by the government buildings, and behind it was a smaller circle for the church. From these circles the streets radiated in every direction. A part of the water front was reserved for wharves and the rest devoted to residences with terraced grounds and gardens reaching to the river, a few of which still survive. The tradespeople were strictly confined to a certain district, and no offensive occupations could be carried on in the residence quarter. When the gentlemen were masquerading in their quarter, the common people were not even permitted to be in the streets of it.

It must have been a really beautiful little miniature city, reproducing English ways and customs. By the year 1750 its Puritan traits had all passed away, and one who knew it well said that there was not a town in England of the same size that could boast of so many fashionable and handsome women. The phantom pleasure was pursued with avidity; the races lasted four days, there were numerous dancing assemblies, the theatre was encouraged more than anywhere else in America, and there were sixteen clubs.

We are apt to think club life rather abnormally developed in our own time, but, in proportion to its numbers, no modern town could in this respect equal Annapolis. One was called the Hominy Club, and another the Drumstick. The Tuesday Club had among its members prominent men from the other colonies, and all these clubs were devoted to stimulating the social life.

From the short statements in their little newspaper, the *Gazette*, the typical amusements of a day of pleasure in Annapolis seem to have been to fire off guns, drink loyal healths, have a ball in the evening, with the whole town illuminated and punch distributed among the populace at the bonfire. They fired guns and salutes on every possible occasion. In the issue for July 15,

1746, we see the work of the clubs, some of which appear to have had houses of their own, as in modern times:

"The gentlemen belonging to the '*Ancient South River Club*,' to express their loyalty to his majesty, on the success of the inimitable Duke of Cumberland's obtaining a complete victory over the pretender, and delivering us from persecution at home, and popery and invasion from abroad, have appointed a grand entertainment to be given at their club house on Thursday next."

There was also a jockey club which encouraged the horse-races, of which all classes in Maryland are still very fond. The subscription purses began at a hundred guineas and were afterwards greatly increased. The betting was high, and the Virginians, of course, came up in large numbers for these sports, which always closed with a ball. But Annapolis had not a monopoly of horse-races, for we find them held everywhere,—at Marlborough, Joppa, Chestertown, Elkridge, and Williamstadt, as Oxford was then called; in fact, wherever people congregated; and finally they began to have them at Quaker meetings.

The races were four-mile heats, and endurance rather than a sudden burst of speed for one mile was the test. The horses were usually six or eight years old instead of two or three, as in our times; and the system is supposed by

some to have encouraged a sounder, healthier breed of animals than can be had under the modern forcing method.

Besides the ball, the races, not only at Annapolis but at other places, usually ended with a performance by Hallam Henry's Dramatic Company, which contained some good actors, and played in Maryland every season for more than twenty years. Annapolis has the honor of establishing the first theatre in the colonies. The first play-bill ever printed in America appeared in its newspaper, the *Gazette*, July 2, 1752. The plays announced were "The Busybody" and "The Lying Valet," "to begin precisely at seven o'clock; no persons to be admitted behind the scenes." Afterwards the company played "Richard III.," "The Beggar's Opera," "Cato," "The Sham Doctor," "Miss in her Teens," and "George Barnwell."

But we are not yet through with the races; for at the close of the week in which they were held there were also bull-baitings and cock-fights. Farmers, blacksmiths, carpenters, and gentlemen all bred cocks and fought them. The people were almost insane about this amusement, and Puritans who were inclined to look askance at the theatre never hesitated about a cock-fight.

"Did you ever make anything by cock-fight-

ing?" was asked of an elderly man, carrying an eight-pound cock under his arm.

"Make! It has cost me thousands of dollars."

"What do you do it for, then?"

"Why, it's the prettiest sight in the world."

The ladies of Annapolis were not without spirit, and we find an entry in the court records that Mrs. S. C., of Patapsco, was fined only one penny for whipping a man with a hickory switch, "it being imagined by the court that he well deserved it."

William Black, who in the year 1744 was secretary to some commissioners who came from Virginia to Philadelphia to assist in making an Indian treaty, gives us a lively picture of the life of the times. They embarked on the yacht Margaret, at Stratford, on the Potomac; and after getting under way, he says, "we hailed with the trumpet the company who came to the water side to see us on board with 'Fare-you-well,' who returned the compliment, wishing us a good voyage and safe return; for which, on the part of the company, I gave them thanks, with the discharge of our blunderbuss."

Stopping at Annapolis, they were entertained by the governor with punch, wines, strawberries, and ice-cream, followed by a series of dinners at all the principal houses, for their presence

was a grand event for the townsmen. He describes one of several balls which were given them. The ladies made "a splendid appearance;" and "in a Room back from that where they Danced was several sorts of Wines, Punch and Sweet Meats, in this Room those that were not Engaged in any Dancing Match might either Employ themselves at Cards, Dice, Back-Gamon, or with a cheerful Glass."

Everywhere "the Glass was pushed briskly." When received by the governor, they discoursed for a while over glasses of punch; then dinner, and after that more discourse and the glass again.

In the "Sot Weed Factor," a rather clever satire on Maryland life, there is a description of a court day at a country village, which is, of course, an exaggeration, but assists in showing the conditions of the time. "Roaring planters" were drinking healths in circles, with their horses hitched to trees; and soon jury, lawyers, judge, and constables were engaged in a general fight, with the sheriff superintending and picking up stray wigs:

"Where all things were in such confusion,
I thought the world at its conclusion;
A Herd of Planters on the ground,
O'erwhelmed with Punch, dead drunk, we found,
Others were fighting and contending,
Some burnt their clothes to save the mending."

The factor found every room occupied in the inn, and had to sleep in a corn-crib. In the morning his hat, shoes, and horses were gone and his drunken servants stripped and left naked on the table. But a great planter, or Cockerouse, as the Indians always called such a man, politely invited him home "to take a Bottle at his Seat," which is described as an "antient Cedar House" buried among trees and vines.

In the harbor of Annapolis, in plain sight from most of the houses, lay vessels from all parts of the world; for the little town had its commercial day before the rise of Baltimore. The houses were in the most perfect forms of the colonial architecture. White Hall and the Chase, Scott, Ridout, Brice, Harwood, and Welch houses still remain as examples to reform our taste, and there are few other places in the country where such interesting and valuable treasures of this old art can be found.

The men and women, who, like the rest of the Maryland gentry, ordered champagne from Europe by the cask and Madeira by the pipe, also dressed expensively in the latest English fashions, and French travellers said that they had seldom seen such clothes outside of Paris. They had French barbers, negro slaves in livery, and drove light carriages,—an extremely rare indulgence in colonial times. The clubs got up

excursions, picnics, and fishing parties. Balls were given on all the great English anniversaries, and the birthday of the proprietor and saints' days were used as excuses. Saint Tamina had a society in his honor, for balls, masquerades, and May-pole dances.

They gambled, of course, after the universal custom of the times, flirted or pretended to flirt, like the modern Marylander, discussed the last vessel from England, the prospects of the tobacco crop, and the quarrels of the proprietors and the crown. Visitors were frequent from the Northern and Southern colonies. In spring the wealthy people departed for their manors or country places—De La Brooke, Kent Fort, Bohemia, or Bel Air—in great coaches of light yellow color with Venetian windows and projecting lamps.

One of the most interesting houses in Maryland, —Doughoregan Manor, in Howard County,— which is still standing, belonged to the Carrolls, who spent many a bright day in Annapolis. The buildings are long and rather low, but in beautiful proportion, and include a Roman Catholic chapel,—a relic of the times, which we shall soon describe, when the Catholics of Maryland were not allowed to have public places of worship. The whole length of the mansion is three hundred feet on the front, and only one

room deep. At one end is the chapel, at the other wings, and in the centre the family residence, with a wide hall heavily panelled, a dining-room arched and recessed, and a library wainscoted high up in oak, in which Charles Carroll, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, passed his last days reading Cicero's "De Senectute."

We can understand how all this high life in Maryland was possible when we read that John Beale Bordley made nine hundred pounds on a single shipment of wheat to Barcelona. Farming was at that time, in both Maryland and Virginia, a paying business, and lawyers, doctors, and clergymen were all farmers. They were tempted to live beyond their means, and bankruptcy and disasters were frequent. When the shrinkage came after the Revolution, the grand life gradually went to pieces, as in Virginia.

The Bordleys were among the highest livers, and have left interesting memoirs. Stephen Bordley kept bachelor's hall in Annapolis, with a cellar full of wine, handsome plate, furniture, and linen, and a good library. He enjoyed a good income from his practice at the bar, and held important offices. The judges dined with him whenever they came to Annapolis,—everybody dined with him, and he died of the gout, like a hero.

His younger brother, John Beale Bordley, thought it necessary to call a halt in this life, so he went to live at Joppa, and became a fox-hunting planter, raising a large family and growing rich. But half of Wye Island was left to him, and there he set up a grand establishment, making his own flour, beer, and bricks, weaving cloth for his people, having his own carpenters, blacksmiths, and coopers, and even manufacturing his own salt. Visitors came to him, passing to and fro to the island, sometimes appearing in a ten-oared barge rowed by slaves, some of them staying all winter,—the Tilghmans, Hollidays, Lloyds, Pacas, Haywards, Blakes, Browns, and Hindmans. Baskets of fruit stood in the hallway, with tankards of sangaree and lemon punch, and everybody dressed for dinner in the ruffles and gorgeousness of the period.

After William III. came to the throne and the Church of England was established by law, Roman Catholicism was almost abolished in Maryland, and the few Catholics who remained were in a worse condition than ever. The Protestants were firmly settled in power, with the Church of England established on the ruins of the faith which the Calverts and their followers had fondly hoped would always control the colony. They were under the direct rule of a Protestant king who had spent a large

part of his life in upholding the liberties of Holland against the combined Catholic armies of Europe. He had just fought his way to the English throne against the armies of a Catholic king, and he was continually discovering and suppressing Catholic plots to dethrone him.

The Catholics of Maryland were not the subjects of any European country watching its opportunity to invade England and turn it Catholic at the point of the sword; they were not the subjects of the king of France, who had supplied Charles II. and James II. with money and assistance to suppress Protestantism. It is not probable that in their depressed condition any of them were concerned in plots to dethrone William; and certainly none of them had been concerned in the Spanish Armada or the Gunpowder Plot.

But they were Catholics; they belonged to the faith and were a part of the people who believed that the British government and all the churches and cathedrals of England were the property of the Pope, and that it was justifiable to join the French in an invasion of England to dethrone any king who was a Protestant. The difference between Protestant and Catholic was at that time a political as much as a religious difference. The Protestants were the majority of the people of England, and the Catholics had

been concerned in all the conspiracies and wars against the nation which for a hundred years and more had inflamed the Protestant mind. The Puritans and the English churchmen were too close to all these events to look upon them calmly or tolerantly. There were on both sides too many people alive who had taken part in them, and they could not believe that all danger was past.

They knew of the plots against King William, they knew that the dethroned Catholic James II. was in France, living under the protection of a Catholic people and king, with whom he eagerly watched for an opportunity to invade England and assist the English Catholics to seize the government, and they knew that on the continent of Europe, wherever Catholics were in power, Protestants were persecuted, tortured, and subjected to every indignity and misery that vengeance could devise. They had saved themselves from such things in England by force, and they believed that force would be necessary for many years to come.

The development of religious liberty had at that time reached a point where the different divisions of Protestants were willing to tolerate one another, although this toleration was not the free, absolutely willing, and open toleration of modern times. They were willing also to tol-

erate the Catholics in the sense of the former meaning of the word tolerate; that is to say, the Catholics were to be allowed to inhabit the country without deprivation of life or property; but they were not to be allowed any share in the government, or to have any influence in it which might be the entering wedge for attaining complete control; and they must keep their religion to themselves, not parade it in public or in any way attempt to proselyte and add to their numbers. If reduced to this condition, it was generally believed that in all English-speaking countries they would be comparatively harmless and unable to carry out the peculiar political doctrines which at that time were an essential part of their religion.

It was on this principle, which now, of course, seems strange and unnecessary, that the Catholics were dealt with in all the colonies, where they were very few in numbers, compelled to be very quiet and unobtrusive in their opinions, and usually conducted their religious services in private houses. Any priests among them were obliged to be as inconspicuous as possible, and both priests and laity were universally regarded as belonging to the most bitter and dangerous political enemies of England, who for humanity's sake were permitted to live in the community and enjoy the ordinary rights of person and

property only on condition that they kept themselves in the background.

Where religious liberty was established by law in colonial times, it usually meant liberty only for Protestants, and Catholics were either expressly or impliedly excluded from its provisions. In the commission for New Hampshire of 1680 we find "that liberty of conscience shall be allowed to all Protestants." The Massachusetts charter of 1691, granted by William III., says, "there shall be liberty of conscience allowed in the worship of God to all Christians (except papists) inhabiting or which shall inhabit or be resident within our said province or territory;" and Oglethorpe's Georgia charter of 1732 says, "all such persons, except papists, shall have a free exercise of religion."

In the Rhode Island charter of 1663, in the constitutions framed by the proprietors of New Jersey, and in the constitutions framed by Penn for the government of Pennsylvania, religious liberty is given generally, without any exclusion of Catholics. In these instances there may possibly have been an intention to allow religious liberty in the modern sense of the term. Roger Williams and his followers, who founded Rhode Island, were adherents of obscure sects far in advance of their time, who seem to have been

entirely sincere in their notions of liberty, although they were never put to the severe test of contending for political power with a rival sect, and there were few if any Roman Catholics in their colony. Pennsylvania and New Jersey were largely under the influence of the Quakers, in whose faith absolute freedom of religion was a cardinal principle.

But even in those colonies where there was no precise law on the subject, or where the law was broad enough to include Catholics, the force of general public opinion, and the strong conviction in all Protestant minds that the political integrity of England was inconsistent with Catholic power, was sufficient to make the treatment of Catholics the same as it was in colonies where the laws were expressly against them.

In Pennsylvania, where complete religious liberty was supposed to be allowed by law to every form of Christianity, and where the founder of the province and the people were more than usually liberal in their views, we find that the Catholics were obliged to keep very much to themselves. In 1708, Penn writes to his secretary of the colony, James Logan, "there is a complaint against your government that you suffer public mass in a scandalous manner;" and again, "it has become a reproach to me here with the officers of the crown, that you have

suffered the scandal of mass to be publicly celebrated."

It is to be observed that what Penn complains of is "public mass" and mass "publicly celebrated." He was willing that the Catholics should have it in their private houses, but the open celebration of it was an offence against the feeling of the time.

We read in Watson's "Annals" that in 1736 the people of Philadelphia opposed the building of a papal chapel because it was to be erected in too public a place; and another Catholic chapel, which is said to have been in existence about the same time a little north of Philadelphia, is described as being part of a private house, which enabled the worshippers to resort to it without inconvenience.

The priests commonly went about in disguise because they were at any time likely to suffer indignities from the masses of the people, whose instinctive dislike for them was very strong. A Jesuit who went from Maryland to Philadelphia in 1730 to see a Catholic lady of some importance found her disguised in the dress of a Quakeress, and made himself known to her only after cautious approaches.*

* De Courcy's "Catholic Church in the United States" (translated by Shea), pp. 209, 210.

Even as late as the Revolution and for some time afterwards, when the States were making new constitutions for themselves, we find the same general opinion prevailing. The constitutions of this period did not expressly except Catholics from the protection of religious liberty, but many of them expressly excluded Catholics from public office; and the constitution of Vermont of 1777 provided that no Protestant should on account of his religion be deprived of any civil right, which would seem to imply that a Catholic could be so deprived.*

The Protestant government of Maryland under William III. proceeded to reduce the Catholics of the province to precisely the same condition which they occupied in the other colonies, and continued to occupy for the next century, until with the waning temporal power of the Pope and the change in some of the more violent of their opinions the fear of their political designs gradually wore away.

The benefit of religious liberty was allowed only to Protestants in Maryland, and the Catholic priests were strictly prohibited from proselyting, and from making any public or conspicuous display of their religion. In one instance, when there was an epidemic in the province, the as-

* "Evolution of the Constitution," p. 190.

sembly complained that the priests took advantage of it "to go up and down the country, to persons' houses when dying and frantic, and endeavor to seduce and make proselytes of them;" and, in the absence of a law on the subject, they asked the governor to restrain them by proclamation.

On another occasion the upper house of the legislature calls the attention of the governor to William Hunter, a priest, who had been very active in proselyting, and leaves it to the governor to decide whether he should be "wholly silenced, and not suffered to preach or say mass in any part of this province." In 1704 there was a complaint that mass was celebrated in the Popish chapel at St. Mary's when the County Court was holding its sessions there. For this too public exhibition of the Roman religion the chapel was ordered to be closed by the sheriff, and the priests were informed by the governor, "You might, methinks, be content to live quietly as you may, and let the exercise of your superstitious vanities be confined to yourselves, without proclaiming them at public times and in public places,"—a sentence which shows in brief the main principle which controlled the treatment of the Catholics in all the colonies.

In the year 1700, many conspiracies to de-

throne William III. having been discovered, a severe statute was passed by Parliament, called "An act for the further preventing the growth of popery." By this law a reward was offered to any one who should secure the conviction of a priest for exercising any function of his office or for saying mass, and the punishment on conviction was perpetual imprisonment. Any Catholic who kept a school or educated or boarded young people was to receive like punishment. Those who refused to take the oath of allegiance and supremacy could not inherit land. No professed Catholic could purchase land; and to prevent Protestant children of Catholic parents from being compelled to embrace the Catholic religion for want of suitable support, the Keeper of the Great Seal could take charge of such children as were not given support by their parents, and make order for their proper maintenance. This legislation was reenacted in Maryland with some modifications, and those who refused to take the oath of allegiance and supremacy were not allowed to vote for delegates to the assembly.

It does not appear to have been always necessary to enforce all of this legislation. The ordinary policy which has already been described was sufficient to keep the few Catholics in Maryland within bounds, as in the other

colonies, and the severe laws were held in reserve, to be let loose, as one of the governors said, to crush them if occasion should ever require it.

This plain statement of the actual condition of things in colonial times seems to be necessary because the facts have been distorted by Protestant writers on one side and by Catholic on the other. The severity of the repression not only in Maryland, but in England and all the colonies, has often been assailed as unnecessary and cruel bigotry, and no doubt it was often carried too far when public officials acted under the influence of excitement and yielded to popular clamor. Queen Elizabeth was as unjustified in slaughtering Catholics as Bloody Mary in slaughtering Protestants, and these excesses of Protestant rulers often injured their cause by producing reactions in favor of the Catholics. But we must not judge the situation exclusively by modern standards. We must put ourselves in the place of the men of that time, and understand their difficulties and the problems with which they were dealing.

If it had been merely a question of religion, the repression, even in the mildest form, would have been both bigoted and unnecessary. But there was a great deal besides religion at stake. The whole political fabric of England and the

principles of liberty and free government of the Anglo-Saxon race were assailed. Catholic and Protestant did not then stand, as now, for a mere difference in religious doctrine. They stood for two different and absolutely inconsistent political theories which neither side would surrender.

The Roman Catholic Church of that time, although it contained, as always, many good and learned men, was unequivocally allied with despotism, and supported despotism in every country of Europe. It had not then accepted and it would not accept the new ideas of free government which were springing up everywhere, especially in England. Whenever it secured a king of England or gained influence over one, he became a despot, like the Catholic James II., who declared that he had power to annul or dispense with the laws whenever he pleased. If the Spanish Armada or any of the other Catholic designs against England had met with permanent success, there is no question that England would have become a despotism like France, which could have been broken only by the horrors of a French Revolution.

England escaped such a revolution only because in the previous two hundred years she had succeeded in fighting off the attempt of the Catholics to control her government and give despotism the sanction of religion. During

those two hundred years the colonies in America were founded exclusively by Protestants, except in the single instance of Maryland, which became a completely Protestant government within sixty years. These Protestant colonists brought with them the principles of Anglo-Saxon freedom untainted by the influences from continental Europe which were attempting to smother them in England. The colonists represented the original Anglo-Saxon principles of liberty more thoroughly and completely than the mother country, and they and their descendants preserved them in that original purity which has created all that is valuable in the American Revolution and the Constitution.

But if in that two hundred years the British government had been controlled by Roman influence, the colonies would all have been turned into little despotisms, as James II. had started to turn them just before he was dethroned, our history would have been reversed, and our Revolution would have been another French Revolution.

We must remember also that under all the severely repressive laws the Catholics were always given ample opportunity to renounce their political doctrines as distinct from their religious doctrines. When they wanted to vote, or take part in government, or hold public office,

they were offered an oath to the effect that they admitted the king then on the throne to be the lawful king of England, to whom they owed allegiance, and that they denied the authority of the Pope, or of any power outside of Great Britain, to dethrone him and absolve his subjects from their allegiance. But they would not take this oath, and openly put themselves in the position of rebels against the government under which they were living, and showed the sincerity of their opinions by joining in every conspiracy and attempt against the government. It is not at all surprising that they were taken at their word and treated as a dangerous class.

In modern times most Roman Catholics, or at least most English-speaking Roman Catholics, have practically abandoned their former doctrines of the authority of their Pope and church in political affairs, and as a consequence they are given the most complete political and religious liberty in all Protestant communities, a liberty which they might have had two or three centuries sooner if they had apprehended that religion and politics are not necessarily connected.

The only instances in which the freedom of Catholics has been disturbed in Protestant communities in modern times have been when a mistaken zeal on their part has aroused the

people's suspicion that they still in secret nourished their ancient political doctrines and were watching an opportunity to carry them into effect. But every day that passes lessens the probability of such outbreaks for the future, and in the United States, when the Roman Church has acquired a native instead of a foreign priesthood, such difficulties will be impossible.

In 1708 the sheriffs of every county in Maryland made a careful enumeration of the Catholics, and returned two thousand nine hundred and seventy-four, of whom nearly half were to be found in St. Mary's County, where the original settlement had been made. As the total population was at that time about forty thousand, the Catholics were less than a tenth of the whole. They had not increased in proportion to the rest of the people, for thirty-five years previously Lord Baltimore had reported them as numbering one-fourth.

The Church of England people, however, who at first had been very insignificant in numbers, steadily increased, and their faith remained established by law until after the Revolution. They could not at first secure the absolute control they had in Virginia, for the Puritans were too numerous and had taken too important a part in the history of the colony; but the churchmen increased so rapidly that long before

the Revolution they composed, it is said, two-thirds of the people.

The churches, as in Virginia, were usually built of brick. The pulpit was high above the congregation, with a great sounding-board like a candle extinguisher hung above from the ceiling. The pews were square boxes with partitions often seven or eight feet high, furnished according to the owner's taste, and owned like land, descending to heirs and transferred by will. When the floor was covered with pews, hanging pews were built against the walls on a level with the high pulpit.

The Maryland clergy are said to have been more vicious and corrupt than those of Virginia. They were appointed to their livings by Lord Baltimore, and, once appointed, it was almost impossible to remove them, no matter what their conduct. There were thirty-six parishes in the province, and the livings averaged two hundred pounds a year, which was a good income at that time, and few clergymen in the country could live so comfortably.

They were secure in their houses and glebes, with their incomes collected from taxes by the sheriff, and they set decency at defiance, it is said. They raced horses, hunted foxes, drank, gambled, joined in every amusement and gayety of the planters, and would extort marriage fees

from the poor by breaking off in the middle of the service and refusing to go on until they were paid.

But in the midst of all this abuse we find that nearly all the good schools in the province were conducted by them,—the Garrison Forest School in Baltimore County, King William's School, Rev. Thomas Bordley's School in Cecil County, and the school at Chestertown. Parson Bacon, although for his accomplishments as a fiddler he was elected a member of the Annapolis Tuesday Club, was also a learned man, and compiled the valuable volume of the laws of Maryland. They were not quite so black as they have been painted, and a few notoriously bad ones affected the reputation of all. They lived under an evil system. There was no bishop or superintending head to control them, and the difficulty of punishing any of them by removal rendered the reckless ones open and defiant in their vices.

The detestable practice of sending convicted criminals to the colonies was indulged in by the British government to an unusual extent in the case of Maryland. In fact, the plain truth of the matter is that Maryland was made a penal colony, and was the only province into which convicts could be freely imported. To Virginia, as we have seen, comparatively few came; the people would not allow the practice to go on,

and inflicted severe penalties on captains who brought them. But after the year 1750 Maryland was compelled to see English criminals turned loose among her people at the rate of four or five hundred a year; and it has been estimated that up to the Revolution she had received at least twenty thousand of these social pests, who were a severe injury to the general character of her people and interfered not a little with her advancement.

The Marylanders protested and resisted in vain. An act was passed prohibiting their importation, and when annulled by the crown was passed again and again, until finally the legislature fell back on that curious clause in the charter which allowed the colony to levy duties on goods imported from Great Britain; and as the convicts were sold like indented servants, a tax was imposed on them as imported merchandise. But the law was of course promptly suppressed by the home government, without regard to the charter, and the process of making Maryland a penal colony continued.

In this enormous importation of a low class, and in the presence of Spaniards, Italians, Dutch, Germans, and Bohemians who came to the province as adventurers, we find a reason for the failure of Maryland to attain a position of leadership and distinction like Virginia. The

climate was said to be better than that of Virginia, tobacco-raising and plantation life very much the same, prosperity and wealth as quickly attained, and living was so easy that the Marylanders are described as larger and stronger than the Virginians. But no very remarkable men were produced, and the Maryland aristocracy was distinctly inferior in ability and accomplishments to the same class in Virginia.

The Spaniards, Italians, and other aliens were comparatively few. The majority of the people were English. But when to this alien element were added twenty thousand criminals, some of whom were actually employed as school-teachers, it is easy to see the degenerating influence which pervaded the masses of the people, on whom, in the end, the character of a community always depends.

Scharf, in his "History of Maryland," tells us that the manners and morals of the province were decidedly bad; and although this is perhaps too strong a statement, such a condition was naturally to be expected from the character of the population. Politics were corrupt and bribery common. Maryland and New York suffered more from this evil in colonial times than the other colonies, which were comparatively free from it. The Marylanders also showed a lack of intelligence in their political affairs, and in-

jured themselves by imposing absurd duties on exports.

To complete the demoralization, treats were given by the government to the people on great occasions, like Washington's visit to Annapolis or a governor's visit to Baltimore. When the treaty of peace which closed the Revolution was signed, the State bought a hogshead of rum, forty-nine gallons of claret, thirty-two of Madeira, thirty-five of port, six of spirits, one hundred and seventy-six pounds of bacon, one hundred and twenty-six pounds of mutton, two hundred and seventy-two of veal, besides beef, lamb, fowls, loaf-sugar, bread, playing-cards, and candles, for a grand carouse of the mob. To celebrate the birth of the Dauphin of France, four hundred and eighteen pounds were spent in a similar way.

If the aristocracy had been composed of selected and unusual men, like the Virginia Cavaliers, they might have risen superior, for a time, to the masses. But very few people of this Virginia class came to Maryland. The Catholics, although in the first migration comprising not a few people of more than ordinary education, were not, as a class, of the high-strung Virginia order, and the Puritans were not of the keen, aggressive sort who settled New England.

The Maryland aristocracy indulged in the

sports and amusements and a great deal of the whole-souled out-door life of the Virginians, but they failed to combine with these the Virginians' love of knowledge, books, and discussion. They had no college like the Virginians, and no ambition for one, and this difference is at once suggestive.

The negroes were concerned in one slight rebellion, which was not like the usual slave rebellion, for they joined themselves to a disreputable party of white men, mostly of the insolvent class, whose object was to seize the government and force a general discharge of all debts and obligations.

The frequent rebellions in Maryland had naturally given the impression that the government could be seized to carry out any pet purpose of a clique or party; and this feeling was another injury to the province. There never seems to have been a time when there were not several restless, discontented spirits, who, having enjoyed the excitement and publicity of some of the Puritan rebellions, were on the watch for another opportunity. Coode was fond of boasting "that as he had pulled down one government, he would pull down another."

In 1711 Charles Calvert made a last attempt to regain the government of Maryland, but was distinctly told that it could not be restored to

any one of his religious belief; and soon after, in 1714, he died, at the age of eighty-five, leaving his title and rights in the province to his son, Benedict Leonard Calvert.

While his father was still alive, Benedict had become a Protestant and joined the Church of England,—an act of policy rather than of conviction, as most of the historians have assumed; but there is no evidence by which we can thoroughly test the young man's sincerity. During his father's lifetime he suffered for his change of religion, lost an annual income of four hundred and fifty pounds which his father had given him, and was compelled to support his wife and six children on his marriage settlement of six hundred pounds a year.

Queen Anne, however, in consideration of the hard usage he had received from his father, gave him a pension of three hundred pounds a year, which was to continue only while his father lived; and she also, at Benedict's suggestion, appointed as governor of Maryland a certain Captain John Hart, who agreed to give Benedict five hundred pounds a year out of the perquisites of the office. George I., on ascending the throne a few months before the death of Charles Calvert, renewed the arrangement with Benedict which Queen Anne had made, and reappointed Captain Hart on the same condition.

As soon as his father was dead, Benedict expected that the government would be restored, and he undoubtedly would soon have received it; but he died only a little more than a year after his father. His eldest son, Charles, now the fifth Lord Baltimore, being under age, his guardian, Lord Guilford, petitioned for the restoration, and it was granted.

The last thread which had connected Maryland with Catholicism was now broken. It was a Protestant colony, with a Protestant church established by law, and under a Protestant proprietor. The earnest efforts of George Calvert and his son Cecil to build up a Catholic colony on the Chesapeake had not only failed, but had resulted in the establishment of an extreme Protestant colony, where Catholics were most severely repressed.

Almost immediately after the restoration of the colony to the Calvert family, one of those events occurred which showed the political opinions of the Catholics and the reason for the laws which repressed them. When the restoration was announced in Maryland, a number of them declared in favor of the pretender to the English throne, and used the guns of the government fort to fire a salute in his honor; the consequence of which was that the laws already in existence were more rigorously en-

forced and new ones passed increasing their disabilities.

Catholic writers have bitterly complained of these measures as a violation of the principles of religious liberty. But it is difficult to see that there was really any question of religion involved. If the Maryland Catholics chose openly to espouse the cause of a man who was watching his chance in a foreign country to invade England and overthrow the government, they were engaging, so far as lay in their power, in a rebellion against Great Britain. If their treatment was in any sense too severe, it was political, not religious, persecution. The Maryland assembly described them as people who had "openly, in treasonable manner, taken upon them to give the pretended Prince of Wales the title of King of Great Britain, and drunk his health as such."

The change from proprietary to royal government in 1691 had not interfered with the advancement of Maryland, but, on the contrary, the tranquillity of the Protestant rule seems to have increased both the productiveness and the population of the colony. The population more than doubled in those twenty-five years; and on the restoration, in 1715, young Charles Calvert received a province containing fifty thousand people, exporting every year thirty thousand

hogsheads of tobacco, which required for its transportation one hundred ships and sixteen hundred sailors. Only two other colonies, Virginia and Massachusetts, surpassed Maryland in population at that time, and Virginia alone excelled her in the importance of her trade and the revenues derived from taxes on it by the British government.

This prosperity continued after the restoration of the Calverts, and the religious question having been decisively and finally settled, the political history of Maryland ceases to be of interest until the Revolution. Other colonies, however, were growing rapidly, and by the middle of the eighteenth century, Pennsylvania, New York, and Connecticut had caught up to Maryland and surpassed her.

The Calverts as Protestants proved themselves to be the same discreet, moderate rulers they had been as Catholics. The family seem, indeed, to have been well endowed with the faculty of governing, and, even when degenerated from the eminence of Cecil Calvert, were very successful in satisfying their people and in obtaining money returns from quit-rents, taxes, forfeitures, appointments to offices, and presentations to livings, which are said to have equalled twelve thousand pounds a year, and their loss sustained by the confiscation of all their property in the

Revolution was estimated at four hundred thousand pounds.

The steady decline of the family in character and ability is strikingly shown in their portraits, from Cecil's handsome, strong face down to the weak, inferior countenance of Frederick, the sixth Lord Baltimore, with whose death, in 1771, the family became extinct.

Frederick, whose conduct and character were what might have been expected from his portrait, left an illegitimate son, Henry Harford, who claimed Maryland, under his father's will, against Louisa Browning, who claimed under the will of her father, Charles Calvert, the fifth Lord Baltimore; and before the litigation between these two could be decided, the Revolution deprived both of them of the province.

The Catholic question soon settled itself in Maryland, and became a mere difference of opinion between individuals, instead of a contest for political ascendency. General public feeling and agreement controlled the subject. It was seldom necessary to enforce the laws, for the Catholics quietly accepted the conditions imposed upon them, and seem to have been treated with even more forbearance than in the other colonies. "Their priests," said Governor Sharpe in 1756, "have large tracts of land amongst us, and their children are frequently sent to St.

Omer's for education. These are, in my opinion, great indulgences, and such as are allowed in none of the colonies but Maryland and Pennsylvania."

At the time of the French and Indian wars, when the French threatened the complete destruction of the English colonies, all Catholics were strongly suspected, especially those in Maryland, of sympathy for France; and it is said that some of the Maryland Catholics openly rejoiced at Braddock's defeat.

The Protestant portion of the people was much aroused, and became still more uneasy when nine hundred of the French Acadians from Nova Scotia were landed in the colony. The assembly urged the governor to command the magistrates to execute the penal statutes with greater strictness. Nothing severe was done, however, and there is no evidence that any of the Catholics actually intended to assist the French, although some of the over-zealous may have expressed indiscreet opinions.

But many of the people were in favor of very radical measures, and those of Prince George County instructed their delegates to dispossess the Jesuits of their landed estates, exclude papists from places of trust and profit, and prevent them sending their children to foreign popish seminaries for education, where their

minds were alienated from allegiance to the British government.

Living in an overwhelmingly Protestant community of Englishmen, the Maryland Catholics, being also Englishmen, gradually adopted a peculiar type of moderate Catholicism, free from the extreme claims of ultramontanism. There seems to have been but little about them that was inconsistent with the American republicanism which prevailed after the Revolution; and if they had remained the controlling influence, it is not likely that we should ever have had the public-school controversy or the Native American riots of 1844. But the enormous immigration of Irish ultramontanes after the year 1825 completely changed the character of the Roman Church in this country.

The original settlement in the extreme southern portion of the colony at St. Mary's had not been in the most productive part or the part most convenient for commerce, and the centre of population and trade kept moving northward, first to Annapolis, and finally to Baltimore. But Baltimore was of comparatively little importance until the Revolution.

Some of the attempts at artificial town making were more or less successful, until, after several experiments, the present site of Baltimore, on the Patapsco, was found. The first attempt

was in 1683, when a town was ordered to be laid out on the Bush River, and as a result of this, a small village or settlement seems to have existed for some time on the left bank of the Bush, near the bridge of the Pennsylvania Railroad between Baltimore and Philadelphia, and this village was called Baltimore.

In 1706, when the forty-two towns were enacted into existence, three of them were in Baltimore County, one on the Patapsco, near the present site of Baltimore, one on the Bush, near Old Baltimore, as it was called, and the third on the Gunpowder, which is the next river south of the Bush. Of these only the one on the Gunpowder prospered, and was called Joppa. It had a court-house and prison, extensive wharves where vessels loaded for England and the West Indies, and the tobacco hogsheads were trundled down from the interior on the rolling roads.

Old Baltimore, on the Bush, was completely eclipsed by the vigorous rivalry of Joppa, which flourished down to the time of the Revolution, when it is said a war vessel was built there. But meantime the modern Baltimore, on the Patapsco, had been growing by force of circumstances and its obvious convenience. Without any suggestion from the legislature, vessels went there to trade, and the products of other rivers were brought to them.

In 1729 the assembly passed an act to establish a town on the north side of the Patapsco, and the commissioners appointed under this act laid out a town in what is now the centre of Baltimore, which in the end enlarged so as to embrace three settlements in its neighborhood.

Thirty years afterwards, in 1752, it contained twenty-five houses, and was becoming an important mart of trade. Germans came to it from Pennsylvania, and some of the unfortunate Acadians who had been torn from their homes in Nova Scotia settled there, the men becoming sailors and the women eking out a living by picking oakum. In most of the places where they sought refuge they left few if any descendants, but in Baltimore one still hears of the family names Berbine, Blanc, Dashield, Gould, and Guiteau.

At the time of Braddock's defeat there were great fears that the Indians would reach Baltimore; some of them came within eighty miles of it, and the women and children were put on vessels, ready to escape down the bay. In 1768 the county court-house and prison were moved from Joppa to Baltimore. Ten years afterwards Baltimore contained six thousand people, and Joppa, like St. Mary's, relapsed into desolation.

Many of the people who took part in creating Baltimore seem to have been fortunate in leaving

descendants who are still prominent in the life of the town. In its early annals we find the familiar names Stewart, Carroll, Colgate, Tilghman, Howard, Ridgely, Van Bibber, Purviance, Fell, McKim, McHenry, Williams, Chase, Ellicott, and many others of families which continue to be well known.

By the time of the Revolution the intellectual energy of Maryland began to leave Annapolis and became centred in Baltimore, which in 1790 had over thirteen thousand inhabitants, at the close of the century had doubled, and in 1810 had almost doubled again.

Nearly all the prominent men that Maryland has produced have lived in Baltimore, drifting to it inevitably as they advanced in life. Chief-Justice Taney, although the most important of the principles he represented have been overthrown, was in many respects the most eminent of the Marylanders. He was born in Calvert County, of a Roman Catholic family, and went to live in Baltimore after his fifty-sixth year. His conspicuous ability as a lawyer had drawn him into politics as a young man. A Federalist in early life, he joined the wing of that party which supported the war of 1812, and after that gradually became a Democrat, and was United States Attorney-General under Jackson's administration.

Duane, who was Secretary of the Treasury,

refused to carry out Jackson's whim for removing the government deposits from the United States Bank. Taney was made Duane's successor, immediately removed the deposits, and precipitated the financial panic which followed. This was the beginning of Taney's vast unpopularity.

Some years afterwards he was made Chief-Justice of the United States, to succeed Chief-Justice Marshall, and immediately began to turn the decisions of the court away from the lines which had been laid down by Marshall and Story, and towards the doctrine of State rights. Some of his decisions, however, have been upheld, and have become settled principles of constitutional law; but his best-known decision, in the Dred Scott case, where he held that Congress had no power to prohibit slavery in the Territories, raised another storm of unpopularity, and contributed, perhaps more than any other one event, to bring on the civil war. But Taney's decision during the war, that the President could not suspend the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus without authority from Congress, is now upheld as sound.

In colonial times and during the Revolution the only Marylanders who were conspicuously prominent were Samuel Chase and Charles Carroll, both of whom signed the Declaration of Independence.

Chase was an extreme patriot in the Revolution, a violent opponent of the Stamp Act, and one of a party who seized the stamps and burnt the collector in effigy. He served in the Continental Congress for many years, and was an active and untiring member, although his name is not connected with any conspicuous opinions or act except his mission, in company with Carroll and Franklin, to persuade Canada to join in the Revolution. He was prominent in Maryland affairs after the Revolution, and became one of the justices of the Supreme Court of the United States.

Charles Carroll, like many other Maryland Roman Catholics, had been sent to France for his education, and most elaborately trained at those "popish seminaries," as they were called, St. Omer's, Rheims, and Louis le Grand, where, as the Protestants complained, Catholic children invariably imbibed a bitter hostility to England. Young Carroll afterwards went to England for a time, where he finished his elaborate education by studying the English common law, having already familiarized himself with the civil law on the Continent.

His ancestors, the O'Carrolls of Ireland, had been princes and lords of Ely and kings of Munster. His migrating ancestor came to Maryland after James II., in whose service he had been

employed, was dethroned and the Protestants under William and Mary came into power. He soon became dissatisfied with the suppressed condition of the Catholics, and formed with some of them a project for migrating to the French possessions in the Mississippi Valley. He visited France for this purpose, and his plan would in all probability have been carried out if the French government had not thought the tract of land asked for too large to be granted to a subject.

In Maryland, Charles Carroll first became conspicuous for his opposition to the laws which taxed all the people of the province for the support of the established church. His opponent in this controversy was Daniel Dulany, a very prominent lawyer, well known in the other colonies, but a tory in the Revolution, and in consequence neglected by the historians.

Carroll was, like Chase, a man of much influence in provincial affairs and active in the Revolution ; and, like Chase, he was an extreme patriot, favoring a public declaration of independence before most of the colonists were ready for such a radical measure.

William Wirt, William Pinkney, and Reverdy Johnson were all Marylanders, and during the half-century after the Revolution very eminent in public life as well as in law. Luther Martin was also a remarkable lawyer of similar

distinction; but, though he lived in Maryland a large part of his life, he was born in New Jersey.

John Pendleton Kennedy, a Baltimorean, who was Secretary of the Navy, and took a leading part in promoting Commodore Perry's famous expedition to open the ports of Japan, enjoyed in his day considerable literary fame. His stories, "Swallow Barn," "Horseshoe Robinson," and "Rob of the Bowl," are not yet forgotten.

He was on intimate terms with Thackeray, and was with him in Paris when "The Virginians" was being published as a serial story. Thackeray complained that he was disinclined to supply the next instalment for the printer, and suggested in his jovial way that Kennedy write it. After familiarizing himself with the general trend of the novel and its author's style, Kennedy wrote what was required, and it now appears as part of the fourth chapter of the second volume, describing with greater accuracy than the great novelist was capable of the scenes of Western Maryland in the colonial period.

Edgar Allan Poe is often spoken of as a Marylander; but his early education and influences were all received in Virginia and England. He lived in Baltimore at times, and attained there his first real fame, when he was awarded the

prize for his story, "The Manuscript found in a Bottle." But Francis Scott Key, the author of "The Star-Spangled Banner," was in the fullest sense a Marylander, and one of whom the State is justly proud, as it also is of the naval hero, Stephen Decatur.

Welch House · Annapolis

CHAPTER X

LANDGRAVES, PIRATES, AND CAZIQUES

CAROLINA was the great domain which in the year 1629 Charles I. gave to Sir Robert Heath, his attorney-general, and it was named after the king,—an attractive, soft name which, like Virginia, seems to suit the climate and surroundings. We have often made most lamentable failures in the names of our towns, especially the smaller ones. Indeed, we seem to be bereft of all taste and judgment in naming them. But in the names of our States, whether taken from kings or from Indians, we have always been most fortunate.

Carolina included the country from Virginia to Florida, but natural conditions and other circumstances soon split it up into three separate communities, which are now North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia. The way in

which these divisions were created reveals the history and characteristics of each.

No settlement was made under the grant to Sir Robert Heath. It remained a mere piece of parchment among the records of the British government. But still it had a purpose to serve. It had given a name and described a territory. As years passed by Charles I. was beheaded, the people grew tired of Cromwell and his son, and the Restoration came in 1660, when Charles II. ascended the throne. He had many friends to reward for bringing him to his own again, and in 1663 to some of the most distinguished and devoted of these he gave Carolina, for which he found a name and boundaries in the old grant to Sir Robert Heath.

No other colony in America was ever in the possession of such distinguished and experienced men of affairs as was Carolina. Its proprietors were the Earl of Clarendon, who was the high chancellor of England; the Duke of Albemarle, who was captain-general of the army; Lord Ashley, afterwards Earl of Shaftesbury, chancellor of the exchequer; and there were also Lord Craven, Lord Berkeley, Sir George Carteret, and others,—all men of eminence who are fondly described in the charter as the "right trusty and well beloved" friends of the king.

If Charles II. had possessed our present

knowledge of America, he would hardly have selected Carolina as the richest gift to bestow upon his favorites. He would have given them Pennsylvania or New York. But he thought he was giving them the best land in America. Everybody else thought the same. The proprietors themselves no doubt selected Carolina, and suggested to the king that it should be part of the reward for their services; for it was in that way that such things were done at court.

The Southern colonies from Virginia to Florida always had a peculiar charm for the people of England. Every sailor and explorer that set foot upon their shores was carried away at once by the suggestion of riches, abundance, and easy life that appeared on every hand; the sunlight was so clear and yet so soft, the vegetation so luxuriant, the soil so black and rich. The coast was cut up into bays and sounds, winding in every direction among islands and shoals, and tempting the adventurer with strange scenes at every turn. The waters were full of every variety of fish, and a single random haul of a net supplied a fleet of vessels with food for a whole day. When they were tired of fish, they picked up on the shoals more oysters than they could use. Myriads of wild fowl, covering the water by acres, swam aside to let the boats pass through them, and the plover

and snipe followed along the shoals and mud-flats in clouds.

When they stepped on shore the deer sprang aside among the trees, and the wild turkeys flew away, striking their wings against the branches. As they pressed inland, they found the level, low shores continue, interspersed with swamps and broad, deep rivers bearing slowly towards the sea the water discolored by the fertile soil. They struggled through dense thickets of the rankest growth, they waded up to their waists in the grass of open savannas, and they walked free and unimpeded along the dry ridges where the stately pine-trees grew.

The red men were there roasting turkeys before great fires and basting them with bear's fat, planting patches of corn and beans, setting fire to the woods and grass in a great circle to drive all the game on to an isthmus or into an angle of a river, where they slaughtered it at will for a feast. They lived easily or with labor that was sport. Their manners were, by turns, as soft and pleasant as the climate or as fiery and wanton as its sun. Almost every month and week tribe fought with tribe and band with band, creeping through the woods at night to surprise each other's hunting camps, and glorying in the scalp torn from the head of a child or an old squaw who had strayed too far from her wigwam.

They received the white man with profuse hospitality, and their women willingly became his mistresses.

What a change it was from misty, cold Britain! The Englishmen were delighted with such a country, just as our own people of the North are still delighted, and pour into it to fill its hotels and resorts and lavish their money on its land for club sites or orange-groves. It is a land which seems to have possessed a supreme attraction for men of great souls and daring enterprise, not always for their advantage; and was it with unconscious fidelity to its characteristics that they usually gave its places feminine names?

There was no more pathetic hour in the life of the gallant Ponce de Leon than when, as an old man, he landed on these shores with his followers and rushed from place to place, expecting every moment to find the fountain of perpetual youth. It seemed as if it must be there; and if you stand there to-day and dream for a while, you almost believe it. He never found it, nor did he see the trees which he was looking for with golden fruit plucked by beautiful maidens. He sailed away at last, disappointed, unsuccessful. But he called it Florida, the land of flowers, a name which could have been given only by a lover; and when he returned to try again, he was killed by the Indians.

A grander and loftier spirit than Ponce de Leon, Sir Walter Raleigh, sent out his captains Amidas and Barlow, who landed on the outer beaches of the North Carolina sounds. They climbed about among the sand-dunes, breathed the bland air from the pines, and feasted their eyes on the soft, liquid light that they could almost feel. They never penetrated far inland; but they were infatuated, and described to Sir Walter a land where, as they said, the grape-vines were washed by the breakers of the sea; and he sent expedition after expedition to make the land his own until he had crippled his fortune.

He never succeeded. His small colony of about a hundred people, who settled on Roanoke Island, disappeared completely, and no trace of them could ever be found. Whether they perished of famine or were killed by the Indians is still a mystery. But he also gave the land a lover's name, and called it Virginia. Who would change it? Who could?

General Greene, of Rhode Island, who, after Washington, was the ablest soldier of the Revolution, was sent to drive the British from the South. He succeeded, and made for himself a deathless name. But the siren voice whispered to him through the pines, and the soft, warm wind caressed his cheek. When the war was over, his reputation, his wide opportunities

in the North, seemed as nothing. He secured a tract of land on the Savannah River, to which he went with the enthusiasm of a boy, full of dreams of wealth and pleasure. But the siren took the hero to herself so completely that he perished within a year, and his grave has never been found.

But why multiply instances? for, beginning with the heroes of old, they come down through every decade of the centuries. In the days of Webster and Calhoun the capital and energy of the North were sent to help develop the rice and cotton plantations, and a large part of it remained in the fullest sense of the word a permanent investment. When the siren rebelled and fought us for her slaves, why did we not let the charmer go? It would have been cheaper. But no; we held her with the grip of death; and to keep her for our own we sacrificed in four years millions of lives and dollars, and we are still sending down our capital to develop those resources of which Raleigh and De Leon dreamed.

But we must return to the early settlement and the proprietors of Carolina whose eminence and practical skill were of little avail to them in their enterprise. Their tract of land was a complete wilderness from the English settlement of Virginia all the way to Florida, which was held by the Spaniards. They thought it would be safest

to start at the northern end, close to Virginia; and, in fact, a number of Virginians had already passed over into this part of Carolina and established themselves on the Chowan River. These settlers were ordered to consider themselves separated from Virginia, a governor, William Drummond, was placed over them, they were allowed a representative assembly to make laws for their guidance, and soon after the governor was given a council of twelve to assist and advise him.

The Virginians who composed this colony were mostly of the reckless frontier class, with a strong love of independence, and they encouraged others of the same sort to come to them. They passed laws making their colony a safe refuge for insolvent debtors from England or Virginia. The eminent proprietors approved these laws, and in their turn made every effort to obtain immigrants and force on development. Both colonists and proprietors thought that all that was needed in that rich, warm soil was to bring in people and capital, and it would become a garden.

These same ideas still prevail, and always have prevailed, in the whole territory that was once called Carolina. As we read its history we find the most ardent encouragements to immigration; and when encouraging and coaxing failed to bring enough white men, the black man was

brought in by the hundred thousand against his will. The insolvent debtor was encouraged until at last we find a whole colony established for his exclusive benefit. The obligation, legal as well as moral, of paying a debt was weakened until the individual became indifferent or indignant at the thought of it, and the States passed laws repudiating their bonds.

The constant cry was, "All we need here is people, more people." It has been repeated for two hundred and fifty years, and you hear it when you travel in the South to-day, for the delusion still prevails that the country is to be built up not by the energy and thrift of its own citizens, but by the assistance of the foreigner and the Northern capitalist.

Besides the colony on the Chowan, another one sprang up of itself at the mouth of the Cape Fear River, in the neighborhood of the present site of Wilmington. This place had been settled by New England people some time before the proprietors obtained their charter. The New Englanders had selected the spot after careful investigation and some experience of the country, and they bought the land from the Indians. But they soon abandoned their chosen spot, leaving fastened to a post a paper which expressed in strong language their opinion of the country. A company of explorers from

the Barbadoes arrived, and, fascinated by the appearance of the place, read with contempt the paper on the post. Could they not see with their own eyes what the country was? and why should they heed the statement of some fools who had abandoned it?

These two settlements—one on the Chowan and the other on the Cape Fear—were at the extreme northern and southern limits of what afterwards became North Carolina. They were almost two hundred miles apart, great sounds and wide rivers and swamps lay between them, and the proprietors were obliged to manage them as two separate colonies, each with its own governor.

Their efforts to encourage immigration were partially successful, and, as they sent their agents soliciting colonists into almost every part of the British dominions, they collected in North Carolina a most motley and miscellaneous set of people. The controlling element was English, made up of adventurers and debtors from Great Britain and Virginia, with a large number of New Englanders who came to trade and often remained in the colony. Besides these, there were some French Huguenots, Germans, and Swiss who had been drummed up by the agents of the proprietors. But all the efforts to force development were of little avail; and at the time

of the Revolution, when the settlements which made up North Carolina were a hundred years old, the whole population was only about two hundred thousand, of whom nearly half were negro slaves.

The province, as can be seen at once by a glance at the map, was shut in by sand-banks forming the outer boundaries of the great sounds. The inlets through these banks were dangerous to navigate, and there were no convenient places for a city or harbor, except at the Cape Fear colony, and even that offered comparatively few advantages. The land near the sounds and rivers was low and swampy, reeking with malaria, and not calculated to produce a population that would support a town. The people lived scattered far apart on farms and plantations, wherever they could find a suitable spot. Their isolation increased their love of independence, and the few occasions when they united for purposes of government usually ended in turbulence or riot. There were few laws and no lawyers. The laws were never printed, but only read aloud in the market-place, and the courts and the legislature met in private houses or taverns.

Virginia constantly complained that she was tormented by a nest of criminals and outlaws on her southern border. In one of the rebellions the insurgents captured the treasury and

government of the colony, and when they were subdued, disorder and license still continued. In the course of forty years, from 1676 to 1717, the people had increased from fourteen hundred to only two thousand. Under the royal government, which succeeded the control of the proprietors, there was some improvement, and the people increased to one hundred and fifty thousand whites at the time of the Revolution. But as late as 1770 there was an insurrection which closed the courts of law and defied the government until it was suppressed by an army under Governor Tryon, who defeated the insurgents in a battle and hung the leaders.

The people lived an extremely isolated, independent life, each family sequestered on its small farm, surrounded by dense swamps, doing whatever seemed right in its own eyes, and living largely by hunting and a little agriculture, in which the women performed a large part of the labor. There were only three towns or villages,—Wilmington, Edenton, and New-Berne,—the largest of which scarcely contained six hundred people, and it was not until the next century that North Carolina began to have any importance as a State.

But her self-reliant, independent people, accustomed to insurrections, were very forward in the Revolution, which was a movement exactly

suited to their taste. On May 31, 1775, more than a year before the Declaration of Independence was adopted at Philadelphia, the people of Mecklenburg County declared that all British authority had ceased, and chose officers whom they instructed to act independently of the crown and parliament. But they did not, as has been supposed, use the language of the Declaration at Philadelphia. It was most characteristic of them, and shows the disunited condition in which they had lived; for Mecklenburg County declared her independence, set up a government, and seemed ready to stand alone before the world without any regard for the rest of North Carolina.

In Georgia and North Carolina the slave population was not so excessive as in South Carolina. In Georgia the whites and blacks were about equal in number, and in North Carolina the white people considerably outnumbered the negroes, and there seems to have been, in consequence, less severe and cruel treatment of the slaves than in South Carolina.

Soon after the settlements on the Cape Fear and the Chowan, which became North Carolina, were established, the proprietors had an opportunity to begin another colony, which in time became South Carolina. The sand-banks and shoals with their dangerous entrances, which so

effectually protected North Carolina from civilization, become less formidable farther down the coast, and about one hundred and twenty miles below the mouth of the Cape Fear there is a large, safe entrance into what is now the harbor of Charleston, and about sixty miles farther south is the harbor of Beaufort.

Beaufort had been visited one hundred years before, in 1562, when Jean Ribault attempted to establish there a settlement of French Huguenots. In 1667 William Sayle explored the coast, and two years later the proprietors of Carolina sent him out to colonize it. He began at Beaufort, which seems to have been the place best known to every one; but he soon moved his colony to Charleston harbor, the superior advantages of which were quickly discovered. His first colonists were adventurers and rough characters picked up in London and various parts of England, with a few New Englanders, and were more unpromising even than the people of North Carolina. Their numbers and their names are unknown.

The proprietors made great efforts to encourage other settlers, and as time went on the efforts were increased. Contracts, bounties, free lands, and every other inducement were offered, and anybody that would come was accepted. The result was, of course, a very miscellaneous pop-

ulation,—Cavaliers, Puritans, bankrupts, and every variety of the restless or unfortunate; people from the Barbadoes, a congregation of Puritans from Massachusetts, Dutch from New York, Scotch, Germans, Scotch-Irish, French from Acadia, and, after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, a large number of Huguenots.

The reckless and desperate characters probably did not have large families, and in after-years gave little increase to the population. But the Huguenots were an important element. They remained in the country, and those famous names in South Carolina history, Legaré, Laurens, Marion, and Manigault, are from that stock. Besides these, who became well known, there was a large number of the most respectable families that were Huguenot: Boiseau, Chevalier, Dupré, Foissin, Gérard, Horry, Jeannerrette, Newville, Prioleau, Ravenel, Simons, Serre, and Trezevant are names that have been always more or less familiar to Carolinians. The Scotch-Irish were also important, and, as in all the other colonies, most of them went out on the frontier.

But although this recital of people gives an impression of a great increase and development, the immigrants were, in fact, comparatively few in numbers, and they failed to increase after their arrival. The flourish with which some

of the historians have described the rush to South Carolina is soon dissipated by a careful investigation into the actual results. The numbers are seldom given or known, and, when given, are usually very small, and many of them refused to remain. The fifteen hundred French who came from Nova Scotia soon left the country.

At the time of the Revolution the whole population of South Carolina was only about one hundred and seventy-five thousand, hardly as much as North Carolina had, and of this number more than one hundred thousand were negro slaves. The blacks outnumbered the whites in colonial times usually two or three to one, and for a long time were imported at the rate of three thousand a year. This black compulsory immigration, of which no boast is made, was the principal source of the population and the controlling element in the history of the province.

The whites did not increase rapidly by births. Large families were not common among them, and there was none of that rapid native growth which was so remarkable in the Northern colonies, especially in New England. The climate, in spite of all its charms, was not favorable. The land near the coast, where the greater part of the people lived during the colonial period,

was, like the coast land of North Carolina, low, malarious, and not as fertile as it seemed, except for the growth of rice and indigo, which were not introduced until after the lapse of many years.

In later times, as the people progressed more towards the western highlands, they encountered better conditions, and when, some years after the Revolution, the cotton-gin was invented, cotton-growing on the uplands gave a new impetus to prosperity. But the cultivation of rice, although covering large districts of the marsh lands, required a comparatively small population besides the negroes, and in colonial times rice and indigo, with some wheat and corn in the western districts, composed the principal productions of the Carolinians. The plantations were large, and the fertile land was all in the hands of a few people. There were no small holdings, and no manufacturing or diversified industries which would build up a large population and sound prosperity.

The proprietors, however, never doubted the success of their colonies, and their only fear seems to have been that they had not secured land enough. In 1665 they obtained another grant, extending their northern limits a few miles farther up into Virginia and their southern boundary far down into the Spanish possessions

in Florida, and, like the first grant, giving them everything westward to the Pacific Ocean. Believing that they now had room enough to move in, they prepared in 1669 an elaborate constitution for the government of their enormous possessions. The document was prepared by the great philosopher, John Locke, whom they had interested in their plans, and who for some years served them as a sort of unofficial secretary. The Earl of Shaftesbury lent him some assistance, and the other proprietors made suggestions.

It was the most highly aristocratic form of government that has ever been attempted in America. The head of all was the palatine, who was always to be the eldest of the lord proprietors; next in dignity came the seven other proprietors, and after them the hereditary nobility, the landgraves, and the caziques. Besides these, there were to be admirals, chamberlains, chancellors, chief-justices, high stewards, and treasurers. Each county was to consist of eight seigniories, eight baronies, and four precincts, and each precinct was to contain six colonies; and there were also to be manors and lords of the manor, court-leets, leet-men and leet-women, a grand council, a parliament, a palatine's court, and courts for all the other dignitaries. And all this elaborate system was to be administered in

a territory extending two thousand miles to the Pacific, including Alabama, Tennessee, Mississippi, Arkansas, Louisiana, Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, part of California, and a large part of Mexico.

Some years passed before any attempt was made to enforce this constitution, and meantime the colonists at Charleston established a government of their own, consisting of an assembly elected by the people, and a sort of upper house or governor's council. Afterwards Locke's constitution was partially enforced until the year 1693, when it was abrogated. There are still some people in South Carolina who are the descendants of the nobility which Locke created.

In 1693 the division between South and North Carolina was recognized, and ever after that they were regarded as separate colonies, but were for a long time under the same governor. They were radically different in their circumstances and development. The people of North Carolina were scattered over a vast extent of wild country of rivers and swamps, and saw very little of each other. Their towns or villages were few, small, and far apart. But South Carolina was essentially a colony of one town, and the life of the people centred in Charleston very much as the life of the colony of

Massachusetts Bay centred in Boston. The South Carolinians advanced in the arts of life, and became a people of self-conscious civic pride, independence, and aggressiveness, which was curiously like what we find in Massachusetts.

Charleston would indeed be a better name for the colony than South Carolina. The governing classes lived there, the political riots and disturbances took place there, and the town ruled the rest of the province very much as Paris has ruled France. It was the most intensely centralized community in America in colonial times and for many years afterwards.

A large part of its history has been lost. The destructive fires and hurricanes which have so often visited Charleston have swept out of existence many documents and records, the British destroyed many more at the time of the Revolution, and the people were not careful to preserve what remained. Some years after the Revolution, through the efforts of Dr. Ramsay, much of the lost history of the province was recovered, but largely from the uncertain sources of tradition and recollection among the descendants of the early settlers.

What we have reveals a state of turmoil, contest, and struggle among the incongruous elements of the people so closely associated which throws

considerable light on the characteristics of the State which have become prominent in modern times.

The majority of the colonists were English dissenters, mostly Presbyterians, and in some respects like the Puritans who settled Massachusetts. In fact, a Puritan congregation from Dorchester, Massachusetts, emigrated to South Carolina and established themselves, naming their settlement after the town they had left in New England. But the dissenters of South Carolina were by no means so severe and fanatical as the Massachusetts Puritans. The organization of their churches was less thorough, their doctrines less precise, and they were less disposed to reason keenly or intolerantly about religion. For many years there were no church services held outside of Charleston. The Carolinians, like the rest of the Southerners, have always taken their religion easily, and it rests upon them as lightly as they sit their horses; not because they are indifferent, but because they accept it simply without intolerance and without speculative inquiry.

The Presbyterians before long organized themselves throughout the colony; but the members of the Church of England secured possession of the government, and their church was the established religion down to the time

of the Revolution. The proprietors favored the Cavaliers and Episcopalians, encouraged them in their control of the government, and at first this was bitterly resented by the dissenters.

The old contest which had raged in England in the time of Cromwell was fought out anew in the Carolina marshes. Mutual jealousy and contempt, ridicule of the austere morals of the Puritans, flaming indignation at the foppish vanity and luxuries of the Cavaliers, brought all attempts at orderly development to a stand. Of the few laws that were passed nothing is known. There were five governors within four years, each one compelled to give up in disgust. One of these, James Colleton, a landgrave under the Locke constitution, proclaimed martial law as a last resort. But the people rose against him, laughed at his attempt, and in 1690 passed a bill in the assembly abolishing his authority and giving him a set time in which to leave the colony.

After him a usurper, Seth Sothell, under an apparent authority from England, seized the government, and imprisoned traders from Bermuda as pirates until they ransomed themselves by paying what he called fees. He enriched himself by accepting bribes from criminals and taking violent possession of farms and planta-

tions, until the people again arose and expelled him.

The arrival of the French Huguenots was another source of contention. Their numbers, as well as their industry and thrift, gave them considerable importance, but their presence was resented by the English. Their encouragement by the proprietors was regarded by the English colonists as a great imposition, and they would allow the refugees no rights. They gave them no representation in the assembly, and refused to pass a law allowing them to inherit land like natural-born subjects. At this time the assembly consisted of twenty members, all chosen in Charleston.

The opposition to the proprietors and all their plans was continuous. The colonists were supposed to be their tenants and to pay a small quit-rent for every acre they occupied. Very little of the rent was ever collected, but the proprietors for a long time believed that they would soon have enormous returns. For years they continued to send out supplies and spend money to force development, and in a short time had sunk in this way more than eighteen thousand pounds.

The colonists were not the sort of people who would readily pay quit-rents. Adventurous and reckless by nature, these traits were intensi-

fied by their contests with one another and the wild life they were compelled to lead.

The Indians were from the beginning extremely hostile and troublesome, and this was one of the circumstances which made the province a community of one town. In spite of their differences of opinion, the people were forced together for protection. While some were building homes, the rest stood on guard. They gathered oysters on the shoals with one hand while they carried their guns in the other. They planted crops at the risk of their lives, and when the harvest was ripe the Indians often relieved them of it in a single day. The soil was found unsuitable for grain, and they had not yet discovered that rice would grow in the swamp lands. The few patches of fertile land were covered with heavy timber, and the spots that were open were usually barren. In fact, the people were often on the verge of starvation in this land which had been thought by every explorer to be the paradise of plenty.

Piracy flourished along the shores of Carolina, and from there to the West Indies, as long as the proprietary rule lasted and for some years afterwards. Indeed, it extended northward into Delaware Bay, along the shores of New Jersey, and through the Long Island bays and coves to Rhode Island; but the principal source and

home of it was in the Carolina sounds and the West Indies. The Vikings of the North Sea and the Baltic, the ancestors of the English race, had been pirates for centuries, and when opportunity offers their seafaring descendants take to the ancient occupation with supreme delight.

In her wars with France and Spain, England encouraged privateering, and privateering is conventional piracy. The step from one to the other is easy and natural. A captain and crew licensed to prey on the commerce of France or Spain, and having once tasted the sweets of plunder, often concluded that their profits would be larger if they made the commerce of the world the field of their operations.

There was a class of men known as Buccaneers, whose head-quarters were from time to time at St. Domingo, Tortuga, and what is now called British Honduras on the mainland. They existed in consequence of the efforts of Spain to monopolize for herself all the trade with her colonies in South America. With barbarous cruelty, and in a spirit of stupid short-sightedness, she drove away all ships of other countries and massacred the people who attempted to settle in any of her territories. In revenge, her commerce was considered fair game for all nations, and the men known as Interlopers, Brethren of the Coast, or Buccaneers, flourished on the

plunder of it. They were mostly English, French, and Dutch Protestants, to whose love of adventure and wild life was added a vigorous hatred of the great Roman Catholic nation. They were not pirates in the full sense of the word, for they confined their depredations exclusively to Spain. They were well disciplined and organized, and many of them held religious services on their ships.

For nearly a hundred years they led a glorious life, hunting the wild cattle of St. Domingo, cutting mahogany in Honduras, and reducing the power of their great enemy as effectually as it could have been done by all the armies of Europe. To the protests of Spain, the other nations answered, "They are not licensed by us; attend to them yourself, for you are the cause of them."

They were the most daring and heroic of men. No disparity of numbers deterred them. In their small boats they would row up to a Spanish galleon, avoiding the direct fire of her guns, and pick off with their muskets the man at the helm and the sailors at the ropes. Securing themselves under her stern, where her guns could not be used, the crew of one boat would wedge her rudder, while the rest poured in a raking fire until they were ready to board and drive her people below the hatches.

When at last their day passed and they were broken up and scattered by changing times and conditions, their success and the wealth they had acquired encouraged ordinary piracy. Sailors had become habituated to the idea of plundering on the seas. Many of them had been privateersmen or buccaneers, and they had all seen fortunes made in that way or in out-and-out piracy. Their success was wonderful, and a common seaman often had a thousand pounds to spend in drink and gambling. The British government was slow to punish them, for they were very numerous and skilful and their ships were very fleet. It was difficult to pursue them on the vast tracts of the Atlantic and Indian Oceans or to follow them into the intricate navigation of unexplored sounds and bays.

So for many a day they reaped their golden harvests, recruited from all classes of people and springing up in the most unexpected ways. Several women figured in their annals. Mary Read and Anne Bonny followed the fortunes of their pirate lovers to the last, and, when captured, respect for their sex saved them from execution. Any ship that sailed from port might be turned into a pirate by her crew before she had gone a thousand miles. One of the most successful of them was a large vessel belonging to the East India Company, the Mocha

Merchant, whose crew made her a pirate after they had left Calcutta. But it was not always the crew, for sometimes the captain would suddenly hoist the black flag and call on his men to join him.

There seldom has been such a field for writers of romance, and we have stories from De Foe's "Captain Singleton," in which a Pennsylvania Quaker is one of the characters, through the novels of Cooper and Marryat, down to Stevenson's matchless tale of "Treasure Island." But the subject has never been exhausted.

The pirates became so rich that they were a money power, and corrupted the administration of the laws which were enacted against them. They came to Charleston with perfect impunity, their ships lay peacefully at anchor in the harbor, and they bought their supplies and spent their money with a lavishness which made them popular with everybody. A few were brought to trial, but it was a farce. They employed the most respectable lawyers at enormous fees, and no jury could be found that would bring them in guilty. Some of them bought land and settled themselves in the province. Prominent people assisted them and became interested in the profits of their enterprises, until governors and secretaries of the colony were involved in this occupation, which will forever appeal to

all that is romantic and daring in human nature. The condition of affairs is shown when we find that the proprietors of Carolina, in order to gratify the people and smooth over everything, granted an indemnity to all the pirates except those who had committed depredations on the dominions of the Great Mogul, an exception which every gentleman of the sea could easily show that he had avoided.

In varying degrees the pirates enjoyed privileges in the Northern colonies. The shores of New Jersey were wild, and full of sounds and inlets with shifting or dangerous bars, and Long Island had many secluded coves and harbors. Protections were openly sold in New York, and Governor Fletcher received handsome presents for himself and for his wife and daughters. When the business was finally suppressed in New York, the people complained that the province had lost a hundred thousand pounds a year. Rhode Island and Newport also enjoyed rich returns. In Philadelphia it was not so profitable, for the religious discipline of the Quakers kept them from it, and the distance up the river was nearly a hundred miles. But Blackbeard bought supplies in Philadelphia, and Evans owned property in the town.

The famous Captain Kidd was the son of a Scotch minister. He went to sea when very

young, and became one of the most daring and successful merchant navigators of his time. He was a privateersman against the French, and not only captured valuable prizes, but won a high reputation for courage and skill. The year 1695 found him settled in New York, where he had married and retired on a competency. In that year Lord Bellamont came out to be governor of both New York and Massachusetts, and was specially instructed by the king to suppress piracy. But he met with very serious difficulties, for the men-of-war could not be used for the purpose, and the pirates were popular and scattered over the seas from America to India. No one cared to fit out a private vessel against them until Captain Kidd volunteered for the service.

A company was formed in England, consisting, besides Lord Bellamont, of Sir Edmund Harrison, the Earl of Romney, the Duke of Shrewsbury, Lord Orford, and the Lord Chancellor. These distinguished men subscribed six thousand pounds, with which they purchased a vessel of two hundred and eighty-seven tons, mounting thirty guns. Kidd was given command, and it is significant of the condition of the times that the greatest caution was taken in appointing him. Livingston, of New York, went security for his fidelity, and when the ship was equipped in England, great pains were taken

to obtain respectable sailors of steady habits with families. Not enough of this class could be secured, however, and a large part of the crew was taken on at New York. In the voyage to New York, Kidd captured a French prize, and thence sailed to Madagascar, which was the principal resort of the pirates.

Kidd's authority from the crown was peculiar. He was commissioned as a privateersman against the French, and also against all pirates, for the purpose of bringing them to trial for their crimes. Another document, called a warrant, gave the members of the company all the property that should be taken from the pirates, and the company then entered into a recognizance to give one-tenth of the spoil to the king. It was in effect a piratical expedition to put down piracy, and the king was to share in the plunder.

That Kidd, when once in the Indian Seas, found plain, straightforward piracy more profitable than the arrangement with Lord Bellamont and his illustrious friends was natural. In the course of his ravages, which extended only over two or three years, a sailor, William Moore, when told by Kidd that he was a dog, replied that if he was it was Kidd who had made him one. Kidd instantly struck him dead on the deck with a bucket. Soon after he returned to

Long Island Sound in a small sloop, and sent word to Lord Bellamont, who was in Boston, that he was ready to prove his innocence.

Bellamont received him; but his answers to questions were so peculiar, and he distributed so many valuable presents to important persons, that he was arrested and sent to England. It has sometimes been said that there was not enough evidence to convict him of piracy, and that he was tried for the murder of William Moore; but according to the best accounts he seems to have been tried for and convicted of both offences. The booty which was taken from his immediate possession, or from places where he had deposited it in Long Island Sound, amounted to fourteen thousand pounds.

He was not in any sense a remarkable pirate, and perhaps would not have become so famous but for the suspicion that the members of the company who sent him out knew of his intention to turn pirate and hoped to share his profits. As they were nearly all distinguished noblemen, active in political life, a great scandal was stirred up, which absorbed the attention of Parliament and the English public for a long time. Learned arguments were made by lawyers questioning the right of the crown to issue such a commission coupled with an arrangement for reserving a tenth of the captured property and

giving the rest to the company. The property taken, it was said, would have been stolen by the pirates from peaceful merchants, who were entitled to have it returned to them. By what right could it be given to the company? The apologists, of course, explained that all property for which a lawful owner could be found would have been restored, and that everything would have been conducted regularly and settled in courts of admiralty.

Edward Teach, or Blackbeard, as he was called, has always been a famous pirate in American annals; but his career, like that of Kidd, was a very short one of two years, from 1716 to 1718, and he was not remarkably successful in comparison with many others described in Johnson's "History of the Pirates" and other books. He was an Englishman from Bristol, and before he turned pirate had served in a subordinate position on privateersmen. His first appointment to command gave him the opportunity he wanted, and he made his headquarters on the coast of North Carolina, at Ocracoke Inlet, a place which is still very isolated and difficult of access.

From there he could communicate with Governor Charles Eden, of that province, with whom he is said to have shared his plunder. People still look for the treasure he is supposed to have

buried; but Teach himself, when once asked where it was, replied, "Only me and the devil know, and the longest liver of the two will get it."

The picturesque element in his character accounts largely for his fame; for, besides his extraordinary brutality, he wore his long black beard twisted in curls round his ears, and in action he carried lighted slow matches in his hat. He was finally pursued into his retreat by Lieutenant Maynard of the royal navy, and killed in a fierce contest, in which the water round the sloops was covered with blood, but not until Blackbeard had destroyed more than thirty of the lieutenant's men. Maynard cut off his head and, mounting it on the bowsprit of his sloop, returned to the fleet, which was lying in the James River in Virginia.

In the end piracy wrought its own cure. As the chances on the Spanish main decreased, the pillaging of English commerce soon reached a point beyond all endurance. By the year 1700 the South Carolinians began to export rice, and, having vessels of their own, they suddenly saw piracy in a new light. A vessel had fitted out at Havana with a mongrel crew of English, French, Portuguese, and Indians, who, after capturing several Charleston ships, began to quarrel among themselves over the booty. The nine

Englishmen were turned adrift in a boat, and, making their way to the coast, walked overland to Charleston, where they said that they had been shipwrecked, a formal statement which a few years before would have been entirely satisfactory to every one. But they soon added to their knowledge of the hypocrisy of human nature. Several of them were recognized by Charleston captains who had lost ships; and they were all tried, condemned, and seven of them hung.

Charleston was no longer a rendezvous, and the pirates had only two strongholds, Providence Island in the West Indies and the Cape Fear River in North Carolina. Issuing from these shelters, they captured within four years more than thirty vessels on the American coast. The clamor against them was now so great that the British crown issued a proclamation offering pardon to all who should surrender within twelve months, and at the same time sent expeditions to suppress them. Captain Woodes Rogers, with several men-of-war, attacked Providence Island and took possession of it. Most of the pirates, when they saw that the day was against them, surrendered and accepted the pardon of the proclamation. But Steed Bonnett, who had been a man of education and wealth in the Barbadoes, and Richard Worley, still held possession of the Cape Fear River.

South Carolina craved the honor of suppressing these remnants of her former friends, and Governor Johnson sent out William Rhett, who after a sharp action captured Steed Bonnett and his crew of forty men, of whom all but one were hung and buried on a shoal below high water, beneath what is now Battery Garden at Charleston. Johnson himself went after Worley, who fought a battle the fury of which it is probable that no romance could exaggerate. The pirates were killed or disabled, until Worley and another man were alone left standing, and they refused to surrender until they were desperately wounded. They were carried to Charleston, where their captors, with sanctimonious haste, tried and executed them before they could die of their wounds.

In 1695 John Archdale, a well-informed, judicious Quaker, who had become one of the proprietors, came out to be governor of all Carolina and to quiet the people. One might suppose that such a man would never be able to control the turbulent colonists; but he succeeded to perfection where all others had failed. The people at once gave him their confidence and support, which his sincerity and discretion enabled him to retain. He made no attempt at first to force the colonists to accept the Huguenots as citizens; but, on the contrary, he disfranchised

all these French refugees and issued writs of election only for the two counties which contained the English.

Under his direction the assembly settled the land laws, made arrangements for payment of the quit-rents, appointed magistrates for hearing causes between the settlers and the Indians, built public roads, and cut passages through the marshes to shorten the distance in navigating the thoroughfares and sounds. He attempted to establish a friendly feeling between the colonists and the Indians, but if he had any success in this it was only temporary. The settlers were determined to cheat the Indians in trade at every opportunity, and even some of those high in office were interested in kidnapping the red men to be sold as slaves in the West Indies.

Archdale had no intention of remaining governor for any length of time. He had come out merely to quiet the colony, and he returned in 1696. In the same year that he returned the Huguenots were given equal rights with the other colonists and allowed to inherit land.

But although he had accomplished a great deal and had given the province its first appearance of prosperity, so that in the next fourteen years there were only four governors, he could not permanently alter the causes of discord. Regular and more orderly government con-

tinued to develop under the impetus he had given it, but the disputes and factions continued for a long time. In 1700 there was a contest between the upper and lower houses of the legislature. The lower house, under the leadership of Nicholas Trott, attempted to reduce the upper house to an inferior position, limiting it to a single day in which to pass the bills sent to it, and to a single hour in which to answer messages. In fact, the Carolinians undertook to shape their constitution without regard to the proprietors, and they largely succeeded.

In 1710 there was a small civil war. Gibbes and Broughton each claimed the office of governor. Gibbes appears to have been regularly elected to the office by the upper house, and took possession of the government. But Broughton and his friends, declaring that Gibbes had been elected by bribery, assembled at a plantation and marched to Charleston, which seems at that time to have been a walled town with a drawbridge, like the defence to an ancient castle. Gibbes, being in possession within the walls, refused to let down the drawbridge at the demand of Broughton, who thereupon rode around the walls with his party and tried to effect an entrance at what was called the bastion. Defeated in this, he returned to the drawbridge,

and after a struggle succeeded in entering the town.

Both parties, being now inside, seemed unwilling to come to blows, and there was more manœuvring and tearing of ensigns than fighting. In the end Broughton's men, after proclaiming him governor, retired to a tavern, and it was agreed that Gibbes should remain governor until the proprietors settled the controversy.

The proprietors rejected the claims of both Gibbes and Broughton, and appointed as governor Charles Craven, a gallant and attractive young Englishman, who figures as the hero of Simms's novel, "Yemassee." He soon had to conduct the province through a terrible war with the Indians,—the Tuscaroras in North Carolina and the Yemassees nearer to Charleston. This war is made the subject of Simms's novel, which is written somewhat in the style of Cooper. The story is by no means unskilfully told, and is exceedingly valuable for its descriptions of the country, the schemes of the Spaniards in Florida to assist the Indians, and the strange tribes by which the colonists were surrounded.

The Indians, of whom there were more than twenty tribes in the near neighborhood, were indeed an important influence in the development of South Carolina. For many years their

numbers were so great that a little unity and skilful leadership would have enabled them at almost any time to annihilate the colony, and on several occasions they came very near accomplishing it. The colonists saved themselves only by extreme vigilance, presents and bribes, and setting tribe against tribe.

Besides compelling South Carolina to become a province of one fortified town, the Indians soon wrought a change in its government. The contest with the Yemassees was so serious that in the midst of their difficulties the people sent to the proprietors for aid, but it was refused. The proprietors could not assist the province without involving their English estates in debt, and this they were unwilling to do; for they had already, they thought, lost too much money in Carolina. The agent of the colony thereupon applied to the king for relief, and it was suggested that the proprietorship be abolished and that the colony be turned into a royal government under the direct control of the crown.

This proposition soon received support from many quarters. The colonists favored it with enthusiasm, because they believed the king would be able to protect them from the Indians as well as from the Spaniards and pirates. The English merchants saw in it an increase of their

trade to Carolina, because the people would be more prosperous and would probably be prevented by the king from issuing paper money, the depreciation of which was a great loss to all who dealt with them. Public men and statesmen saw in it a better prospect for the spread of the British empire; for they feared that if Carolina remained in the weak control of the proprietors, it would be taken by the Spaniards of Florida.

At the same time the proprietors succeeded in making themselves more unpopular than ever. Some lands taken from the Yemassees had been given by the assembly to some Scotch-Irish settlers who had been induced to come to the colony on the expectation of receiving the land. But the proprietors claimed the exclusive right of selling the land, and had it surveyed and laid out in baronies without regard to the Scotch-Irish, some of whom perished from starvation, and the rest sought refuge in the Northern colonies.

The proprietors also repealed a law which allowed elections to be held in the different parishes instead of compelling everybody to come to Charleston to vote. They had succeeded in winning to their side the popular leader, Nicholas Trott, and had made him chief-justice. He was accused by the people of a

long list of thirty-one offences, which is a striking commentary on the way in which the colony was governed. He had contrived a fee for continuing cases from one term to another, he acted as counsel in cases pending before him, prepared documents the validity of which he afterwards passed upon as judge, he was sole incumbent of the Courts of Common Pleas, King's Bench, and Vice-Admiralty, and he was also a judge of the Court of Chancery; so that no appeal could be taken to any one of these courts without his granting it against himself. But the proprietors, in answer to the protest of the people, not only continued him in office, but complimented him on his devotion to their interests.

One of the laws which was repealed by the proprietors was certainly a most extraordinary one. The high-spirited colonists had actually undertaken to levy a duty on all goods imported into the province from Great Britain. Half a century afterwards it became an important question whether Great Britain had a right to tax the colonies, but here was a colony taxing Great Britain. In Maryland, as we have seen, a clause of the charter expressly allowed such a tax to be levied, although the colonists never succeeded in acting under it. The Carolinians, however, levied the tax without the authority of any

charter, and appear to have met with some slight success in executing their law, which was the only instance of a colonial tariff being enforced against the manufactures of the mother country. Even Massachusetts never went so far as this.

The enforcement of the law aroused great indignation among the English merchants, who were now more than ever in favor of a royal government which would put a stop to such high-handed measures. With the colonists the law was extremely popular, for they expected the proceeds of the tax would pay the expenses of government and help them carry on their wars with the Indians and Spaniards. Its repeal by the proprietors was considered such a grievance that they determined to deny the right of the proprietors to repeal any of their laws. In these proceedings, besides Trott and Rhett, we find the familiar South Carolina names of Bull, Barnwell, Butler, and Skrine.

The relations between England and Spain were at this time very much strained, and it was known that a Spanish expedition was preparing at Havana to attack South Carolina. The Carolinians had had several contests with the Spaniards of Florida, in which they had been usually successful; but when the governor called on them for a subscription to resist this attack, he was told that the duties on imports

would be amply sufficient, because the people had determined to enforce this law, although it had been repealed by the proprietors, and in future "to pay no regard to these repeals."

The governor, Robert Johnson, thinking it would be best to have the militia ready, requested the field-officers to call a general meeting of their companies. Meantime the members of the assembly had prepared a plan for revolting from the allegiance of the proprietors, and, having reduced it to writing, it was presented at the meeting of the militia to be signed. They readily agreed to it, and soon after it was signed by nearly all the white people of the colony; and on the 28th of November, 1719, the announcement was formally made to the governor that the people had decided to dispense with the proprietary authority, and he was requested to accept the office of governor from them on behalf of the king. This he refused with much indignation, and the contest began.

The assembly, feeling confident of the support of the whole province, passed resolutions declaring that they were no longer an assembly, but a convention of the people to preserve the colony until his majesty's pleasure should be made known. They denied the authority of the proprietors to repeal laws, and denied also

the authority of the governor and his council; but they provided that an address should be sent to the governor, asking him to continue the administration until the king's decision could be made known. Arthur Middleton, the head of a family afterwards famous in the history of the province, was president of the convention, and waited on Governor Johnson to persuade him to comply.

Middleton argued in a manner which seems strangely familiar, because it was in the same high-strung tone which is so well known to us in the history of nullification and secession in South Carolina. The governor had been approved by the king, so that he was already half a royal governor; and as for the remaining half, which rested on the proprietors, that had been abolished by Middleton and his friends. The convention representing the people had disowned the proprietors, and would not act with them on any account.

It was a serious predicament for Johnson. If he should attempt to dissolve the convention and dismiss the members to their homes, how was he to obtain money and militia for defence against Spain? On the other hand, if he allowed the convention to exist, was he not faithless to the trust the proprietors had imposed upon him? Messages and answers passed between him and

the convention, each side trying to gain an advantage; but in the end Johnson took the only ground he could in honor take, and declared that he had been appointed by the proprietors, and by them alone could he be dismissed. He issued a proclamation dissolving the convention, but the document was torn from the hands of the marshal who attempted to serve it.

The convention then proceeded to complete the revolution by electing James Moore governor. There was a grand meeting of the militia in Charleston in the market square, with flags flying in the forts and on all the ships in the harbor. Johnson, arriving in the town and finding all these preparations for proclaiming the new government, had the courage, single-handed, to oppose them. He stormed and threatened punishments, reasoned and expostulated, and was about to seize with his own hands the commander, when the militia levelled their muskets at him. He had expected support from some of the people, but not a man joined him. The revolution seemed to be universal, and there was nothing that the governor could do against it.

He attempted to hold together the old government, but in vain. The convention proclaimed Moore governor, and set to work forming a new government, modelled on those in the

other royal colonies, and consisting of a governor's council of twelve and an assembly elected by the people. Laws were rapidly passed, and among them, of course, the favorite tariff against goods imported from England. The fortifications were repaired, and the province strengthened in every way to resist the Spaniards. Taxes were levied on land and negroes, and a really vigorous and efficient government created, showing how natural and easy such work always is to the English race.

Meantime the Spanish expedition from Havana had sailed, and Johnson warned the revolutionists of what might happen if they attempted military operations without lawful authority. But the convention was confident, and the Spaniards never reached Charleston. They chose first of all to attack the island of Providence, where they were repulsed, and soon after a large part of the fleet was lost in a storm.

The convention was completely triumphant. Two British men-of-war came into the harbor, and Johnson immediately procured their assistance. With their men at quarters and portholes open, they lay before the town, and Johnson ordered the revolutionists to surrender or he would batter down the city over their heads. But the convention in possession of the forts and bastions of the little stronghold stood ready

at their guns, and not a shot came from the men-of-war.

It was a most interesting revolution, so successful, and with such obvious influence on the greater revolution of the continent a little more than fifty years afterwards. One would suppose that the British government would have in some way punished or rebuked it; but while it was going on, Parliament was preparing to divest the proprietors of all their rights in the government as well as in the soil of Carolina. They were given seventeen thousand five hundred pounds in compensation, and the arrears of quit-rents due from the colonists were purchased for five thousand pounds more, making in all twenty-two thousand five hundred pounds, which probably very nearly compensated them for their outlay on the province, without giving them any of the profits which they expected to reap from their vast territory stretching all the way to the Pacific.

Some of the resemblances between this revolution and that of 1776 are worth noting. The two were conducted in very much the same way. Both of them began with complaints, remonstrances, and arguments, dignified and earnest for the most part, but interspersed, when occasion offered, with very decided and riotous action. Both were concerned with the question of taxation, although in a somewhat differ-

ent way. The South Carolinians claimed the right not only to regulate their own internal taxes, but to tax at their pleasure the goods imported from the mother country. Both were an uprising of the people, represented by a body which in one instance was called a convention and in the other a Continental Congress, and in both instances, when the revolution was completed, these bodies became the government of the country.

In the South Carolina revolution Arthur Middleton was president of the convention. His son, Henry Middleton, was at one time president of the Continental Congress, and his grandson, Arthur Middleton, was one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence.

The British government, although it had no inclination to punish the revolutionists, would not accept Moore as the governor. General Francis Nicholson, a passionate, violent, but at the same time generous and firm man, very much like the typical South Carolinian, was appointed in 1721, and delighted everybody by his administration. He encouraged literature and religion, and under his administration the Church of England was more firmly established in the province.

The Huguenots in time showed a decided preference for the Episcopal service and doc-

trines, and the old Huguenot church now shown to visitors in Charleston is still in possession of the Episcopalians. The Huguenots joined the Church of England in South Carolina very much as the Lutheran Swedes joined it in Pennsylvania, where the old Swedish churches are now all Episcopal.

In fact, wherever the Huguenots appeared in America they were more easily absorbed among the English population than any other foreign element that has ever come to us. They rapidly joined the English religious bodies in preference to their own, and within two or three generations all their distinctive characteristics except their names had disappeared. The consequence of this and of their willingness to intermarry has been that no other foreign element except the English can trace its blood in so many distinguished and prominent people in the United States. They have been in this respect the reverse of the Germans, who, by attempting to keep up their nationality and segregating themselves from the rest of the people, have diminished their opportunity for usefulness to the nation.

But the most important benefit Nicholson conferred on the province was his treaty with the Cherokee Indians. He smoked their pipes and exchanged with them that eloquence about

friendship as enduring as the sun and stars which is usually effective, or at least suitable, on such occasions. He regulated the standard of weights and measures by which trade with them was carried on, and appointed an agent to superintend their intercourse with the whites. In the same way he concluded a treaty with the Creeks.

Soon after, in the year 1730, Sir Alexander Cumming came out from England further to pacify the Southern Indians, with whom the French had begun to tamper as part of their plan of getting control of the Mississippi Valley behind the English settlements. They were already beginning to enter this valley on the north by way of Canada and the Great Lakes and on the south from the Gulf of Mexico. Cumming penetrated the Indian country three hundred miles west of Charleston, held many conferences, and returned in triumph with a crown decorated with scalps and eagle tails. Six chiefs accompanied him to England, were entertained and petted at court, and returned to their people with accounts of the wonders they had seen.

When the chiefs returned they were accompanied by Robert Johnson, who had been appointed governor to take the place of General Nicholson. Although as the last governor under the proprietors he had resisted the revolution to

the utmost of his ability, he was much respected by the people, who knew that he had acted from a sense of duty and honor. They were not averse to having him over them again, and his administration, like that of nearly all the governors after the revolution of 1719, was quiet and satisfactory. After his death a monument with a very laudatory inscription was erected to his memory in St. Philip's Church.

The success of the negotiations with the Indians was a great relief to the Carolinians and was the beginning of their prosperity. Instead of living in terror of their lives, within easy distance of escape to a walled town, they could now spread out in all directions. The Spaniard in Florida was their only remaining enemy, and he was not so close and persistent as the Indian had been.

This peace which Nicholson and Cumming secured lasted for nearly thirty years, or until the breaking out of the French and Indian war after Braddock's defeat in 1755. During those years the South Carolinians pushed their settlements westward for a distance of over a hundred miles. The pioneers in this advance were the Indian traders and the cattlemen or graziers. The cattlemen occupied the districts where cane grew, the open grassy spaces in the forest, and also pastured their cattle in the woods. Places

were established for bringing the cattle together, called cow-pens, a word which often occurs in the history of the province, and has given a name to one of the battle-fields of the Revolution.

The life of these men bore a slight resemblance to that of the cowboys of the Western plains in our own time. The traders, usually Scotch-Irishmen, advanced still farther, and were types of those curious characters who love isolation and a wild life. Some of them penetrated beyond the line of the Alleghany Mountains, hundreds of miles from the settlements, where they lived alone among the Indians with their squaw wives and the other pleasures of savage existence. One of them is said to have boasted that he had upwards of seventy children and grandchildren among the Indians.

This peace with the Indians followed some few years after the complete suppression of the pirates; and as the Indian peace gave the Carolinians the freedom of the West, so the suppression of the pirates gave them the freedom of the ocean. They were now at liberty to develop themselves and enjoy the chief advantages of their situation; for until the pirates were suppressed their discovery that rice would grow in the swamp lands was of very little use.

The cultivation of rice had been introduced by Thomas Smith, who was a landgrave under

the Locke constitution and a governor of the colony. He had been in Madagascar, where he had seen rice growing in low ground, and he had long been convinced that it would grow in Carolina. One day, about the year 1693, a vessel from Madagascar, in distress, put into Charleston harbor, and the captain, who was an old acquaintance of Smith's, inquired for him. In the course of their conversation they talked about rice, and when Smith asked for some, the cook of the vessel furnished him with a small bag of it, which he planted in the back of his garden. It grew, and the crop produced was distributed among other people to make the same experiment, which in every instance was successful. Rice, negro slavery, and the extreme partiality which the British government showed towards the colony were the foundations of its fortunes.

The favor and encouragement which the British government displayed were quite extraordinary. Massachusetts was also a royal province, but the people were ground down and oppressed by the crown until they became in time the most inflammable revolutionists on the continent. But every favor that could be shown a colony was shown to South Carolina. The restrictions on colonial trade were waived for her benefit, and she was allowed to send her rice

directly to any port south of Cape Finisterre, on the northwest coast of France. Parliament allowed her a bounty on hemp. The arrears of quit-rents which had been bought from the proprietors by the crown were all remitted, the king sent out as a present seventy pieces of cannon, and when Charleston was half destroyed by a fire, Parliament voted twenty thousand pounds to be distributed among the sufferers. The province was allowed, and even encouraged, to issue bills of credit, and men-of-war were stationed on the coast for the special protection of her trade.

It seems rather difficult at first to understand why there should have been so much partiality shown South Carolina. But the English aristocracy and governing classes had always been more interested in the Southern colonies than in the Northern ones. The Northern colonies were largely settled by Puritans, Quakers, and other dissenters, and were believed to have a cold climate, forbidding scenery, and to be suitable only for shopkeepers and petty occupations. The great plantations, country life, and genial climate of the South were more attractive; and as late as the time of our civil war, the English upper classes took sides with the Confederate States largely because their people were supposed to live like country gentlemen.

The original proprietors of Carolina having been men of the highest distinction and influence in the Cavalier or high tory party, and having surrendered their province to the crown without a struggle, naturally left an inheritance of favor for Carolina, which was continued through generations of men of influence in the government, and it is probable that the Carolinians themselves were wise enough to cultivate this advantage to the utmost. They resorted to England, and passed to and fro more than the people of any other colony. The children of people of means were almost invariably sent to England for their education. English books were read, English clothes worn, and English habits and customs reproduced, especially in the country life of the planters. As the life of the colony was all centred in Charleston, which soon had many ships and a considerable commerce, the close connection with the mother country was easily maintained, and the route which ships from England followed at that time, by way of the coast of Europe and the Azores and Canary Islands, was much shorter to Charleston than to New York or Boston.

The English merchants, whose influence in British politics was strong, were always very fond of the Charleston people. London, Bristol, and Liverpool thought they saw great

opportunities in South Carolina. They encouraged the slave-trade, and assisted the planters with credit and in other ways to purchase slaves, because the more slaves the larger the plantations and the greater the consumption of British goods.

So the five or six hundred wooden houses of which Charleston was composed began to give place to brick mansions and stores of a somewhat imposing appearance, and the walls, bastion, and drawbridge became of less importance. The plans which the proprietors had tried so often for coaxing immigrants into the province were renewed; but the reports of the large numbers who came must be scanned closely, and it is also necessary to investigate what happened to them after they arrived.

John Peter Pury, of Neufchâtel, Switzerland, visited Carolina, and, of course, was charmed. He entered into a contract with the government to bring in Swiss immigrants, but they sickened and died very fast, and those who survived spent their time in cursing Pury for the hardships of their lot. The Scotch-Irish immigrants went through similar experiences, and, in truth, all white people had to pass through a very severe ordeal before they were acclimatized. The negro, on the other hand, was acclimatized at once; and the sick and failing whites were all

the more tempted to encourage the slave-trade, because to obtain credit with a merchant for a cheap negro to do their hard work was a matter of life and death to them.

And now began the process which supplied an enemy to take the place of the Indian and keep the South Carolinian keyed up to that high-spirited imperiousness which always comes to men who live with arms by their sides, in daily and nightly fear of their lives. Negro slavery in connection with the rice and indigo plantations became extremely profitable. Capital invested in planting and negroes would often, under favorable conditions, double itself in three or four years. A vigorous negro cost about forty pounds, or two hundred dollars, and after a year's labor usually paid for himself.

After the revolution of 1719 and the orderly settling of the royal government, slaves were imported in great numbers, until they outnumbered the whites almost three to one. They were not like the negroes we now see in the South, and still less like the Northern negroes, tamed by nearly two hundred years' contact with civilization and a large infusion of white blood. They were pure Congo savages, fresh from the African jungle, with their fetish worship, their wild dances, and their incomprehensible jargon which they called language. They were quick

to learn certain things, and rapidly adopted the white man's dress and many of his ways. But they remained strange creatures for a long time, and it is not likely that there was much change until the second generation.

The lash of the overseer, the efforts of good people to Christianize him, contact with civilization, and a large infusion of white blood into his veins have been among the chief means which have changed the negro, and for a hundred years and more he has been mild enough; but in his untamed original condition in South Carolina he was a continual source of terror to the English colonists, whom he so far outnumbered, and who knew all the details of the terrible slave insurrections in the West Indies.

Of large stature; muscular; not only uninjured by the climate, but stimulated and strengthened by it; quickly becoming familiar with the effect and use of fire-arms, and with easy access to such weapons, as well as to the axes and tools used in his labor, it is little wonder that his masters were uneasy. He was by no means an inferior fighting man, and in this respect was more than a match for many of the Indians. Simms, in his novel, "Yemassee," describes the slaves pursuing some of the inferior tribes of Indians through the woods and smashing their heads with clubs. The imported negro was

more of a fighting man and more dangerous than his descendants, and when the importation was prohibited it became safe to treat the slaves more mildly.

During the early days of the colony a regular watch and ward was kept round the walls of Charleston to guard against the red men; but now that that danger was past, a more intense and careful watch was necessary for protection against the blacks. The walls round the town were of no avail, for the negroes were everywhere,—in the houses of the town as servants, on the streets, and on the plantations. Every man, woman, and child must become a watchman and guard, and the whole community turned itself into an organized militia. Slaves could not leave the plantation to which they belonged without a ticket, and all white persons were authorized to disperse meetings of them. A slave found on the road could be stopped, examined, and, if necessary, whipped on the spot. If he resisted punishment, it was lawful to kill him. The white men all went armed to church, as in the early days of Massachusetts; and for any one to fail to give notice of the slightest symptom of disaffection in a slave, no matter to whom he belonged, was a heinous offence.

A justice of the peace and three freemen had the power to inquire into all crimes committed

by slaves, and the judge could order death to be inflicted as a punishment in any mode he thought proper. Slaves were incapable of giving evidence, and were not allowed counsel for their defence. There was no marriage among them, and they lived in irregular association like animals, which, it was supposed, tended to increase their numbers, to the profit of their master. They were forbidden to learn to write, and could neither buy, sell, nor hire horses, nor travel in companies of more than seven. About the only mitigation in their condition was that they were allowed on Sunday to work for themselves.

That they were treated with extreme cruelty, the result largely of the terror their numbers inspired, is unquestioned, and it was unsafe for any one to intercede for them. Crèvecœur, in his "Letters from an American Farmer," tells of a clergyman who, having recently come to South Carolina, ventured to remonstrate with the people on their treatment of the slaves, and was promptly informed by his congregation, "Sir, we pay you a genteel salary to read us the prayers of the liturgy and to explain to us such parts of the Gospel as the rule of the Church directs, but we do not want you to teach us what to do with our blacks."

Crèvecœur also describes finding one day in

the woods a negro exposed alive in a cage to die of hunger and thirst. The cage was hung in a tree, and sitting on it was a flock of buzzards, which had already pecked out his eyes and were tearing the flesh from his arms, while the blood streamed down on the ground. This, as Crèvecœur was afterwards informed, was the punishment inflicted for the murder of an overseer, and its cruelty was defended as absolutely necessary to protect the community.

But Crèvecœur is probably wrong in describing him as in a cage. It is more likely that he was hung in chains, as it was called, which was a common way at that time of dealing with notorious criminals, although they were not usually hung in chains alive. It seems strange, from what we know of the habits of vultures, that they had begun to tear the negro before he was dead.

In many instances, of course, the slaves were well treated. Henry Laurens, Pringle, and other planters were well known as kind masters, and they were rewarded by a great increase in the number of their blacks; for when used with kindness and not overworked they bred much more rapidly; and this argument in favor of mild treatment was one of the few which it was safe to use.

The Spaniards at St. Augustine, knowing well the condition of things in South Carolina, made

every effort to incite an insurrection among the slaves or to entice them away from the province. They offered them complete freedom and protection if they would come to Florida; and they had a regiment recruited in this way from the Carolina slaves, whom they dressed in full uniform of bright colors, which the darky loves, and gave them equal rank and pay with the Spanish soldiers. That they were not more successful in these methods is proof of the sharp watchfulness of the Carolinians, or, as the Carolinians would explain it, of the entire contentment of the negroes with their condition.

But in 1740 what every one had long expected finally happened. A number of negroes at Stono attacked a warehouse and, having killed the men in charge, took possession of the guns and ammunition which it contained, and immediately marched towards Florida, burning houses and murdering every one they met until they had killed about twenty people. They were continually joined by the slaves of the districts they passed through, and had proceeded some distance when, in passing near a Presbyterian church where the armed congregation was assembled, some one gave the alarm.

The men from the church pursued the slaves, and, finding them in an open field feasting and dancing and drunk with rum which they had

obtained from the plantations, at once attacked them. They were easily dispersed, many of them killed on the spot, and a terrible example made of the leaders who were captured.

South Carolina and, indeed, the whole South never forgot this and some other insurrections. The Carolinians redoubled their vigilance, and rangers were employed to patrol the frontiers. The dread of these servile insurrections became embedded in Southern feeling, and in the days of Clay and Webster and the Missouri Compromise many a speech in Congress was pointed with an allusion to it. At the time of the civil war nothing was so exasperating to the people of the Confederacy as the thought that the abolitionists of the North were attempting to bring upon them the horrors of a universal slave rebellion. But, as we all know, there were no rebellions in later times, and in the civil war the fidelity of the negroes to their former masters was remarkable, for the negro's blood had been diluted and his character changed.

The gift of freedom has, however, developed vices in him which were unknown in colonial times. He had not then the mad passion for raping white women and children, which causes so many lynchings in the South, nor did he show the inordinate criminal instincts which are now his characteristics.

Besides rice and indigo, the people, as they were enabled to spread backward into the interior of the country, began to interest themselves in grazing, and to cultivate hemp, wheat, and corn, and cure hams, bacon, and beef. They followed the lines of the numerous great rivers, which gave them easy and cheap transportation for all their produce to Charleston, their common emporium and the centre of all their life.

Everything was made easy for them under the extraordinary favor which the British government lavished on its pet colony. Lands were given free of quit-rents for the first ten years, and taxes were a mere trifle. The mother country gave new settlers a bounty to purchase tools and start life on the land which they obtained for nothing. The settler then proceeded to procure some negroes on credit, and if after that, surrounded by an abundance of game and fish, he could not succeed, it was certainly his own fault.

The merchants both in England and in Charleston were very indulgent in the way of credit, and, as prosperity was increasing and values rising, found it for their advantage. They encouraged the people to buy both negroes and goods on long credit, and in this way they greatly stimulated the development of the country. They required settlements from their

customers only once a year, and often extended them to two or three years; and on all the naval stores, indigo, hemp, and raw silk which the colony produced the mother country paid a bounty.

There were no manufacturing industries, and they were not desired; for, with bounties on most of their products, the people preferred to be producers of raw material. Slave labor was not suited to manufacturing, and white labor was high. The laws of the British Parliament forbidding manufacturing in the colonies and restricting their foreign trade, which were such a source of irritation in the Northern colonies, especially in New England, were regarded with entire indifference by the Carolinians.

From the point of view of Great Britain, South Carolina was the ideal colony, fulfilling in every respect the functions and duties of a colony, and entitled to all the assistance and favor that could be shown her. England intended that the colonies should all be mere producers of raw material, and buy all their manufactured goods from her, and at the same time trade with foreign nations in a way to help on the trade of the mother country. This was the foundation principle of her colonial policy, the principle that built up the colonies and finally lost them to her. If the colonies would accept

the principle, she promised to help them to great prosperity, and in the case of South Carolina she certainly made good her word.

South Carolina was an instance which, so far as it goes, justifies the theory of those who maintain that a community may become prosperous, enlightened, and refined by the cultivation of the soil alone, without the varied industries of manufacturing. The seventy thousand white men, all planters and farmers, or merchants furnishing supplies to planters and farmers, were by the time of the Revolution a most united and happy people, with many of the characteristics of intelligence and intense patriotism which characterized the people of Massachusetts, much easier and more polished in their manners, and more familiar with the customs of Europe. There was probably no community in the world where such a very large proportion of the white people had means and leisure to enjoy themselves and cultivate the arts of life.

They were wholly engaged in agriculture, but they had all the advantages of city life, for everything centred in Charleston, which the rivers and roads made easy of access. The planters usually lived in the town, visiting their plantations, which were in charge of overseers, only when necessary, and some whose estates were close to Charleston dispensed with town houses.

In summer every one congregated in the town to enjoy the sea-breeze, and for four or five months it became a very lively watering-place and was the resort of invalids from the West Indies.

There was a society for the promotion of literature, two libraries, and several temporary theatres at different times until 1793, when a permanent one was established. At the literary club, clergymen of several different denominations discussed religious topics in perfect harmony. Music was carefully cultivated long before much attention was given to it in the other colonies. Josiah Quincy, who visited Charleston in 1773, describes an amateur concert of the St. Cecilia Society at which two hundred and fifty ladies were present, and both men and women more richly dressed than in the North. And if there were any deficiencies in this civilization, the Carolinians themselves were not conscious of them.

The houses were usually of brick, with some pretension to architecture, and surrounded by large verandas. In winter, dancing assemblies were held every two weeks, and there were dinner parties, balls, and amateur concerts innumerable. Sports were fashionable,—fox-hunting, shooting, horse-racing, foot-ball, and also bear- and bull-baiting.

These pleasures were often interrupted by terrible epidemics of small-pox, yellow fever, and other diseases, which are obscurely described. Charleston was sometimes almost depopulated, and at times many of the people were so discouraged that they thought of deserting the province. But in spite of these attacks on their happiness, and the fires and hurricanes, they soon returned to their occupations and amusements.

There was a great deal of gambling and heavy drinking. The latter vice was common in all the colonies; but the climate of Carolina hastened its evil effects on the constitution. Few families had less than twenty slaves as house servants. Everybody had plenty of horses and many had fine carriages. Hospitality was boundless, and on many of the plantations the slaves had standing orders to bring in any respectable stranger they saw passing on the roads.

The plantation-house, surrounded by its stables, barns, and negro quarters, often looked like a small village. Bathed in the soft, indolent sunlight, in the midst of luxurious vegetation, the trees filled with mocking-birds, the horses and cattle wandering everywhere, and hundreds of blacks with their songs and irresistible humor breaking forth at every moment, it was a most attractive scene, in which many a traveller lingered long. Some of the plantations were laid out with

handsome grounds, avenues of trees, and the landscape gardening of England.

Edward Middleton, who lived in the province in very early times, planted at his place, called The Oaks, a fine avenue of live-oak-trees, which still remains. Another place of the Middleton family is described as having in front of the house a spacious basin, probably something like a fountain, in the midst of a green lawn. Back of the house was a walk a thousand feet long, on each side of which was a grass-plot ornamented in a serpentine manner with flowers. On the left was a bowling-green, and at a little distance a large fish-pond with a mount in the middle of it as high as the top of the house, and on the mount a Roman temple.

Many of these handsome places were ruined by the British in the Revolution. They were rebuilt in greater magnificence, but were all destroyed in the civil war except Drayton Hall, which, being used as a hospital, was preserved, and is still shown to tourists and visitors from Charleston.

The typical South Carolinian, born and acclimatized in the province, was a man of rather large, well-developed frame, the result of good living, open-air life, and exercise in the saddle. The women were also of well-proportioned, rounded figures, less inclined to the slender,

delicate type than in the Northern colonies; and it has been sometimes thought that the typical South Carolina female figure can be traced in their remote descendants in other States. They were lively and bright, took an important and active part in all sorts of affairs, and seem to have had a certain ascendency and superior position which were not attained by the women of the rest of the country.

We read of women managing plantations; and Mrs. Izard devoted herself to the introduction of silk culture, in the hope, as she proudly said, that it might be of benefit to Carolina. Many of the famous gardens in and near Charleston which were so much admired by travellers were the result of the skill and intelligence of women. Mrs. Lambol, Mrs. Logan, Mrs. Laurens, and Mrs. Hopton were among the remarkable gardeners, and Mrs. Logan wrote a book on gardening. About the year 1745 Miss Eliza Lucas, afterwards Mrs. Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, after several years of careful experiments, introduced the cultivation of indigo, from which for more than half a century, until it was superseded by cotton, the people of the province enjoyed very profitable returns.

A great many varied duties necessarily devolved on the women at a plantation. They took care of the sick; and as a plantation of any

pretensions had usually two or three hundred slaves, this was by no means a trifling task. They superintended the spinning and weaving of cloth and the cutting and making of all the clothes for the plantation, and they usually had a great number of household servants to look after. They learned to command and enforce obedience among savages. They had to train slaves in habits of order, and teach them the small trades and occupations which were essential to the self-supporting character of their little community. They often taught their own children to read and write. Many of them were very zealous in giving religious and moral instruction to the negroes, teaching them to read the Bible, though not to write; and to this custom must be partially credited the taming and civilizing of the blacks, so that as years passed they became less dangerous. In the Revolution they did little or no harm to their masters, and in the civil war often saved valuable property and befriended their former masters when they were at the mercy of invading armies.

Besides these duties, which were especially assigned to the women, it was usually important for them to have a thorough understanding of the general management of the plantation; for the men were necessarily often absent, and it was not uncommon for a woman to be left

alone for several months in charge of a huge plantation, with hundreds of slaves, and no white man to assist her but the overseer.

It seems to have been a more varied and broadening life than has been generally supposed, and it developed important qualities in both the women and the men. Each plantation was a little kingdom in itself, with its spinners, weavers, blacksmiths, carpenters, coopers, hospital service, religion, often its own vessel, and always its own laws and customs.

The animosities and factions which had been so rife under the proprietary government disappeared long before the time of the Revolution, and the white population were extremely homogeneous and united, imperious in temper, decided in opinion and judgment, and capable of prompt, unanimous action. They loved Great Britain and the British government, which encouraged and petted them, and we look in vain for any of those bitter complaints and quarrels which were so prominent in the other colonies. The history of South Carolina, although an important community, is in consequence very brief, as the history of prosperity and contentment always is.

Having such a strong and interested affection for the mother country, and always maintaining such close and constant intercourse with her, it

might be supposed that the Carolinians would be slow to take part against the stamp acts and tea acts which brought on the Revolution, or that, at least, there would be many tories among them. But, on the contrary, South Carolina was the first colony outside of New England to send delegates to the Congress which met in New York to resist the stamp act. When afterwards the East India Company shipped tea to all the colonies, the cargoes sent to Charleston were stored and the merchants forbidden to sell them.

In Boston, as we all know, the tea was thrown overboard, and, as a punishment for this, the British Parliament passed an act closing the harbor of that town, which in effect destroyed its commerce. Acts of Parliament were also passed placing the government of the province almost completely in the hands of the king, and providing that persons indicted for murder could be sent to England for trial. When Massachusetts, finding her trade ruined and her people in want and suffering, called on the other colonies to stand by her, and by refusing to import English goods bring the Parliament to terms, South Carolina promptly complied. A meeting was called,—not a mere meeting of delegates, but a mass-meeting of all the people of the province, which assembled in Charleston, July 6, 1774, and voted

unanimously to support the people of Massachusetts Bay.

The Carolinians on this occasion were not only prompt and unanimous, but their ideas on the subject were perfectly clear and definite; and, indeed, Carolina opinion, whether right or wrong, always had the merit of definiteness. They were not in the least injured by the acts of Parliament. They were still enjoying its favor as well as the favor of the crown, and had everything to lose by making themselves unpopular with the home government; but they declared in their resolutions that the recent acts, "though levelled immediately at the people of Boston, very manifestly and glaringly show, if the inhabitants of that town are intimidated into a mean submission to said acts, that the like are designed for all the colonies, when not even the shadow of liberty to his person, or of security to his property, will be left to any of his majesty's subjects residing on the American continent."

In the same resolutions they appointed Henry Middleton, John Rutledge, Christopher Gadsden, Thomas Lynch, and Edward Rutledge to be the delegates to the first Continental Congress to resist the attacks of Parliament. These delegates were an able and useful body of men. In general character and ability they were equal if

not superior to Samuel Adams, John Adams, Robert Treat Paine, and Thomas Cushing, who represented Massachusetts, and they were nearly on a par with the Virginia delegation of Washington, Henry, Randolph, Harrison, and Pendleton. In their opinions they were in sympathy with both the Virginia and Massachusetts delegates, but were not so violent and not so determined to force the issue of independence as the Massachusetts men. The majority of the Congress and the friends of liberty in Philadelphia seem to have always placed most reliance on the representatives of South Carolina and of Virginia, whom they regarded as more statesmanlike and judicious than the Massachusetts delegates, who were headstrong, and played the part of agitators rather than of statesmen.

When the delegates returned from the Congress, in the last days of October, 1774, the Carolinians immediately set to work to create a government among themselves similar to the one by which they had accomplished their own revolution of 1719. They formed a provincial congress of delegates from every parish and district, which, like the convention of 1719, was to act independently of the assembly of their royal government, see that the non-importation resolutions were observed, and organize the militia.

The facility with which the Carolinians could act together was strikingly shown in the Revolution. The non-importation agreements were so strictly enforced that not a single article of imported merchandise could be landed. Every man turned himself into a soldier; even the children were seen drilling with sticks in the streets; and the few who seemed out of sympathy with the general will were often roughly handled by the imperious majority.

They had no expectation, however, that there would be war. They confidently believed that their action and preparations would bring Great Britain to terms; and until they received certain information from England, they had no thoughts of actual bloodshed. The way in which they obtained this information was characteristic, and shows that high-handed alertness which all the conditions of their life had made habitual with them.

A packet from London, carrying the mail for the Southern colonies, arrived in Charleston on April 19, 1775. A secret committee had been appointed to watch for this vessel, and when she arrived, William Henry Drayton, John Newfville, and Thomas Corbitt demanded all the letters she carried. The postmaster refused; but the letters were taken from him, the private ones returned, and all despatches from the

British government opened and examined. There were letters to the governors of Virginia, the Carolinas, Georgia, and East Florida, showing conclusively that troops were to be sent to coerce all the colonies. At the same time a letter was found from the governor of Georgia to General Gage, the British commander at Boston, asking him to send troops to control the Georgia people. This letter was retained and another written to take its place, with an imitation of the governor's signature, telling Gage that there was no occasion for sending troops, as the Georgians were convinced of their errors and had come to terms. In the agitations which preceded the civil war of 1861 it will be remembered that the Carolinians took from the United States mails the pamphlets which had been sent by the abolition societies of New England for distribution in the South.

News of the battle of Lexington was received a few days afterwards, settling the question of war beyond a doubt, and a new incentive was now added in the fear of their slaves. They dreaded a great slave uprising, either instigated by the British government or tories, or of the slaves' own motion. Several of their public documents openly speak of this danger, and all their exertions were redoubled.

Twelve hundred stand of muskets, which were in the royal magazine, were instantly seized by a party of Charleston gentlemen and distributed among the militia. Soon after twelve others set out to take by surprise an English powder vessel which was lying near St. Augustine, and after overpowering the grenadiers on board and spiking the guns, they succeeded in removing from her fifteen thousand pounds of powder. They returned by the inland passage through the sounds, and delivered the powder in safety, while their pursuers were looking for them off the Charleston bar. A large part of this powder was sent to Massachusetts.

An association paper was prepared, describing the condition of the country, the danger of servile insurrection, and binding its subscribers to defend both the continent and the province. This paper was carried about to be signed by all the people of the province. Those who refused to sign were proclaimed as enemies, closely questioned as to their reasons, and forbidden to have intercourse with the associators. They were then required to take an oath of neutrality, and if they refused, were disarmed and some of them confined to their houses and plantations.

Such thoroughness was not to be found at that time even in Massachusetts. Only about

forty persons in Charleston refused to sign the association paper, and they were for the most part officials or connected in some way with the royal government. In the interior of the country, where the people were less easily controlled, tories were more numerous, especially in the district between the Broad and Saluda Rivers. As they showed a decided disposition to enforce their opinions, the patriots promptly suppressed them by force of arms.

A British fleet of over forty vessels, which attacked Fort Moultrie and attempted to take Charleston, was driven off by the defences which the people had been so diligent to prepare, and soon after the Cherokee Indians, who had been roused to hostility by British emissaries, were subdued. If the Cherokees and tories had attacked on the west at the same time that the fleet was besieging Charleston, the province would have been taken. But the Carolinians were fortunate in being able to deal with each of these enemies separately, and conquer them both.

During the years 1777 and 1778, while the war was raging in the Northern colonies, South Carolina not only enjoyed complete immunity from invasion, but made money in commerce, and drove a thriving trade in supplying goods by wagons to North Carolina, Virginia, and Maryland. In 1779, however, her troubles began

when the British invaded Georgia; and although the enemy was kept off during that year, Charleston was taken in 1780, and the British overran the whole State, dragooning the people into submission and creating tories by the same means that the Carolinians had used a few years before to create patriots.

An association paper of submission to the crown was passed about, and in Charleston alone more than two hundred people who had just before been in arms against the British signed it. Those who would not sign were treated as prisoners of war; some were crowded in loathsome prison ships and others confined to narrow limits on land. Severity after severity was enforced against them until hundreds submitted to escape starvation. Many of the people finally began to believe that they had been abandoned by the Northern colonies, and that South Carolina would in any event remain a royal province. Their pride was broken, and the pacification of at least one rebel province seemed complete.

The officers of the conquering army grew rich on the plunder of plantations and warehouses, and cargoes of indigo and negroes went out of the harbor for their advantage. About twenty-five thousand slaves are said to have been sold in the West Indies by the officers, and one of them, Colonel Moncrieff, sold eight hundred

as his share of the spoils. They took what they pleased, helping themselves to the silver and plated ware with which the houses of the rich planters were furnished, and wantonly destroyed the beautiful gardens around Charleston. They enjoyed themselves with the concerts, assemblies, and amusements which the Carolinians had been so fond of, and brought to their entertainments the American officers who were their prisoners.

Many of the prominent people who had been released on parole were afterwards seized and imprisoned for nearly a year in St. Augustine. Henry Laurens, who had been appointed minister to Holland, was captured on his way to that country and imprisoned in the Tower of London for over a year; and, indeed, there were few eminent South Carolinians of that time whose histories do not contain an account of a long imprisonment.

The wealthy planters were in a deplorable state: their houses robbed, gardens and plantations devastated, buildings burned, and the negroes, without whom they were helpless, carried off. Many abandoned all their property and left the province, but others agreed to a submission which they intended to break at the first opportunity. The women, in many instances, showed greater resolution than the men, refused

to attend the entertainments of the British officers, encouraged their husbands and fathers not to yield to save their property, and cheerfully followed them to the prison ships or into banishment, where they were usually dependent on charity for their support.

Among those who had fled to North Carolina was Colonel Sumter, and the exiles gradually gathered around him as their leader until he was able to carry on a sort of guerilla warfare against the British. Other similar bands were formed; and in the summer, when General Gates arrived from the North, he found himself with about three thousand men; but he was defeated at Camden, and Sumter, who was now assisted by the famous Marion, was left to continue the contest as best he could until the arrival of General Greene, who finally drove the British from the South.

But it was ten years and more before South Carolina recovered from that one year of ravage after Charleston was captured. The unity of feeling among her people had been broken. Impoverished debtors and angry creditors—those who had lost all by patriotism and those who had saved their property by temporizing—struggled and quarrelled together, filling the State with discord and confusion. But before the year 1800 they had settled down on the old

lines. New negroes were purchased, houses rebuilt, and the second period of prosperity began, which was greatly accelerated by the introduction of cotton-planting and several improvements in the cultivation of rice.

In the year 1783 Gideon Dupont, a descendant of one of the Huguenot families, introduced the system of overflowing the rice-fields with water at certain seasons, which not only stimulated the growth of the plants but killed the weeds and saved all the labor of destroying them with hoes. Soon after this, machinery worked by the tides was invented for separating the grain from the husk, which had formerly been done by hand with most exhausting labor that broke down the strength of the negro men and often destroyed the fertility of the women. Other improvements followed which greatly lessened the cost of producing a crop and brought rice culture to a high state of efficiency.

Cotton-raising took the place of the culture of indigo, which soon after the Revolution was produced so cheaply in the East Indies that it was no longer profitable in Carolina. When the cotton-gin was invented by Miller and Whitney, of Connecticut, in 1793, an enormous impetus was given to cultivation. Cotton lands in South Carolina doubled in value, and the legislature, for fifty thousand dollars, bought

from Whitney and Miller their patent and made it free to the Carolinians.

The cultivation of wheat and other products, which in her first period of prosperity had given variety to the industries of the province, was abandoned, and South Carolina became a State of two products, rice and cotton, dependent for their large profits on negro slavery. After the Revolution her people had the right to trade with all the world; but they soon returned to their old lines of trade almost exclusively with Great Britain, and the close relationship with what had been the mother country was renewed with the same characteristics of long credit which had prevailed in colonial days. This second period of prosperity was more vigorous than the first, and the English merchants reaped a richer harvest from South Carolina as a State than they had ever received from her as a colony.

In this second period of prosperity better houses were built in Charleston, the handsome gardens round the town and on some of the plantations were restored and enlarged, and the cultivation of flowers greatly increased. The imperiousness, generosity, and high spirit which had been the characteristics of the people in colonial times were intensified and carried to extremes. The hospitality of the planters was

greater than ever, and very large sums seem to have been spent in charity in the town. Entertainments were numerous, long sittings at meals became common, there was not a little of fairly good education and general information, and much discussion of political questions and points of honor.

A novelist was produced in this period,—William Gilmore Simms,—born in 1806, who, though by no means great, won for himself a respectable position in American literature. Edgar Allan Poe considered him the best after Cooper, and he wrote somewhat in Cooper's vein. He had a most fertile brain, and his volumes are very numerous. His imagination was vivid, and he handled some of his most unpromising topics with a great deal of skill. But his most important merit is that he was a thorough son of the soil, describing conditions which he thoroughly understood and in which he believed, and this characteristic of his books is now all that preserves them from oblivion. In his later years he lived the life of a true Carolinian, in a good country house, in which he dispensed liberal hospitality.

This second period of Carolina's prosperity was remarkable for a great increase of duelling. Before the Revolution there had been a few duels fought with swords, notably one between

Thomas Middleton and Colonel Grant, of the British regular army, about a question of rank at the time of the Cherokee war. After the Revolution pistols were invariably used, and the number of duels increased until, soon after 1800, there were four or five a year, and afterwards they became more numerous. Even boys sometimes fought, observing all the requirements of the code. At first the survivor was usually found guilty of manslaughter; but the punishment, burning in the hand, was always remitted. In later times the trial was merely an investigation into the manner in which the duel had been conducted, and if the procedure had been fair, the survivor was acquitted as a matter of course.

The rules and principles of the code were developed to excessive complexity and refinement. Men who had mastered all the intricacies and acquired that "exquisite sensibility," as it was called, in affairs of honor, were looked up to with great respect. Charles Cotesworth Pinckney was one of the most eminent in these matters, and Edward Rutledge also had a great reputation.

But all efforts by grand juries, petitions signed by thousands of respectable people, and the preaching of the clergy were unavailing to check the spread of the fashion, and an attempt

was made to regulate it by law. A bill was draughted providing a legal tribunal to decide points of honor and to impose penalties affecting the character and civil privileges of the duellists, their seconds and abettors. The survivor was not to be punished by death, but was to be compelled to support the family of his antagonist, and this last provision probably prevented the bill becoming a law. Duelling continued until, when the men of high character who had enforced the fairness of the code were driven from influence and control after the civil war, it degenerated into the assassination and shooting at sight which we have known in the South in our own times, and which is now said to be slowly disappearing.

Among these high-strung but very charming and agreeable people, the planters were the aristocrats, and are said to have ignored and slighted the merchant class. But from other sources we hear of merchants attaining to positions of much eminence and importance, and becoming equal in every respect to the planters; and as many of them acquired considerable wealth, this was naturally to be expected. Henry Laurens, one of the most distinguished of the Revolutionary characters, was a merchant, Christopher Gadsden also, and Gabriel Manigault was both merchant and planter.

The general tone was, however, set by the planters, and was not very consistent with mercantile pursuits. The sons of planters, unaccustomed to strict discipline, hot-headed, and full of what they had heard of honor, became extraordinary characters as clerks in a counting-house when they began to maintain what they considered their rights. Rather than break in such wild colts the merchants imported clerks from Europe, and the planter class was left to continue in those loose and desultory habits of business which ruined so many.

In fact, everything in South Carolina—the long credits which had always been allowed by the merchants, the assistance the province had received from England, and its good luck in so many ventures—encouraged debt contracting, and before the adoption of the National Constitution we find stay-laws and various contrivances for preventing the collection of debts.

The cultivation of rice and cotton was largely speculative, some years bringing large returns and others little or nothing. Prices were variable, and floods, frosts, hurricanes, and fires lent their assistance to make Carolina values very unstable. The people grew accustomed to sudden transitions from poverty to riches or from riches to poverty, and were extremely reckless. Sometimes the crash came in a man's lifetime;

but often, by the use of credits and other devices, he could keep up appearances throughout a long life. Men who for years had been supposed to be in the most prosperous circumstances were on their death often found to be totally insolvent and their large families left without a penny. In these circumstances the women rose superior to the situation, gathered together the remains of the estate, opened schools or lodging-houses, gave their children stricter training than they would have had under their father, and in the end restored the family to something like prosperity.

But nothing could shake the faith of the Carolinians in their methods. They believed most thoroughly in their system of speculative agriculture without manufactures. It was the only life worth living, and they had a supreme contempt for people who followed any other form of existence. That men who loved their country or respected themselves should want to build up manufacturing industries, which necessarily degraded the white man to the level of the slave, was to them inconceivable. Their furious resentment against the national protective tariff brought them to the verge of rebellion thirty years before the civil war, when with characteristic impetuousness they announced the doctrine that they had the right to nullify acts

of Congress which were inconsistent with the system of civilization in their own State; and their hatred of the tariff was in the civil war almost as strong an incentive as their interest in slavery.

There seems never to have been an hour when they did not feel entirely competent to stand alone before the whole world, and their history seemed to justify them; for had they not maintained themselves unaided against the Indians, the proprietors, the Spaniards, the pirates, and their own slaves, who outnumbered them three to one? They saw their own interest and life with a sublime and ingenuous clearness which ignored every obstacle. They overthrew the proprietary system with unanimous and fearless self-confidence, and with cool courtesy invited the governor who was maintaining it to join them. For his manliness in refusing they respected him, and afterwards took pleasure in having as their royal governor the man who had resisted them courageously; for they were so overwhelmingly successful that they could afford to love their enemies.

In a similar spirit they undertook to nullify the acts of Congress, and graciously abandoned the attempt more from a conviction that the game at that time was not worth the candle than from any fear of consequences. But thirty

years afterwards, when slavery was attacked and they believed their all was at stake, they moved with a unanimous promptness and high-spirited confidence, as though they intended to sweep the continent in one day, and, to use their own language, make slavery national and freedom sectional. Their State was the first to secede, and they fired the first shot of the rebellion. But they had reached their limitation at last, and their pride, their power, their wealth, and, unfortunately, also many of their highest and best qualities, were overwhelmed.

It was a pathetic fall and a serious loss; for whatever may be our opinion of the crime of slavery, the civilization which South Carolina built upon it had many merits, and her public men were not without important influence in the Revolution and in the Constitution. She had her day, and it was a pleasant one, and, as she will always believe, great. But in many respects it was the day of the successful spoilt child. Everything had been in her favor. When the proprietors could no longer afford to spend money in her aid, the crown and the English merchants began their system of coddling, and she was given a whole division of the human race to keep the mud from her hands and the sun from her head.

Robert Young Hayne was one of the promi-

nent men produced in the nullification period of South Carolina's history. A typical Carolinian in thought and conduct, and of unusual eloquence, he was not in other respects of very marked ability; he is remembered principally for his speech in the Senate on nullification, to which Daniel Webster made his famous reply.

Calhoun, however, who belonged to the same period, was a most remarkable man, and undoubtedly the strongest intellect that was ever produced in South Carolina. He was somewhat unlike the others both in appearance and character, and impresses one as a variation of the type. He came from the frontier Scotch-Irish, and was not of the usual planter or merchant class. His deeply marked, rugged features, with heavy, prominent bones and cavernous eyes, are totally unlike any of the other faces that have come down to us in South Carolina portraits.

His father was a man of education, and Calhoun was trained in that Calvinistic mental discipline which has so often in this country given such good results. He is known now by the ordinary reader of American history only as the desperate champion of the lost cause of nullification; but we should remember that before he took up that cause he had a most useful career in national politics. He had been an enthusiastic supporter of the war of 1812,

and had advocated internal improvements in roads and canals, the bank bill, and the protective tariff of 1816. As Secretary of War he organized and gave new life to that department, very much as Hamilton, years before, had organized the Treasury; and the War Department has existed on his system down almost to the present time.

Whether we agree with his opinions or not, it is impossible to deny the wonderful subtilty and analytical power of his arguments, and at times there is a touch of genius and charm in his language. Edward Everett said of him that as Clay was the great leader and Webster the great orator of that time, Calhoun was the great thinker. Clay and Webster also bore strong testimony to his mental power as well as to his incorruptible integrity, and John Stuart Mill thought he was the ablest of the American political philosophers.

The best service of South Carolina to the Union was her influence in forming the National Constitution which she afterwards tried so hard to destroy. When, in 1778, Congress sent out the Articles of Confederation for approval, South Carolina gave them more earnest and careful study than any other State. William Henry Drayton, the chief-justice, prepared a redraught of the articles, with suggestions which were

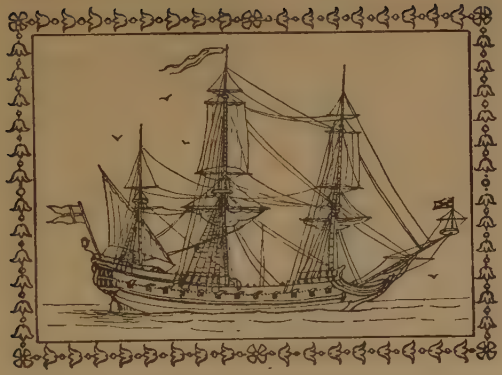
afterwards embodied in the Constitution, and contributed materially to the formation of that document.

As a Carolinian and States' rights man, he, of course, was anxious to secure protection for States' rights, and especially the Southern interest; and he even provided that each State should keep up such military establishment as it pleased and have a naval seminary, all of which was, of course, very characteristic of the feelings of his people. But he also enlarged the federal power beyond anything contained in the articles prepared by the Continental Congress, and he strongly urged the necessity of it, suggesting that Congress should have power to define and punish treason and levy taxes independently of the States. These powers were not contained in the original articles, and they were afterwards found absolutely essential to any competent federal government. He also suggested regular executive departments of war, navy, and treasury.

He was a student of political theories and forms of government, a subject which was always popular among the Carolinians. Charles Pinckney, who in after-years was governor of South Carolina, a member of the United States Senate, and minister to Spain, had similar tastes, and when the Revolution was over he appears to

have devoted considerable time to evolving a more suitable form of government for the Union, which resulted in the very advanced and suggestive plan which he laid before the Constitutional Convention at Philadelphia in 1787.

Drayton Hall · Ashley River · S.C.



CHAPTER XI

BANKRUPTS, SPANIARDS, AND MULBERRY-TREES

AFTER the proprietors of Carolina had surrendered all their rights in their province at the close of the revolution of 1719, the crown recognized North and South Carolina as two distinct commonwealths, and secured them in their territory; but the land now within the State of Georgia which lay between South Carolina and the Spanish possessions in Florida was taken by the crown, to be disposed of in future grants.

In 1717, however, two years before the revolution in South Carolina and the final surrender of the proprietors, Sir Robert Montgomery was seized with a desire to possess the territory which afterwards became Georgia, and plant a colony there. Like the other distin-

guished men who had taken a fancy to the South, he was carried away by enthusiasm, and in his prospectus advertising for settlers he described Georgia as the most delightful country in the universe. "Nature," he said, "has not blessed the world with any tract which can be preferable to it. Paradise with all her virgin beauties may be modestly supposed, at most, but equal to its native excellencies." The name he gave his province was the Margravate of Axilia, and he divided it into a complicated system of counties and districts, very much as Locke had done in his constitution for Carolina, but with more of a military intent, for these divisions were arranged so as to be a sort of self-acting defence against the Spaniards.

But the three years which the proprietors gave him to make the settlement or forfeit the land expired without his accomplishing anything, and nothing was attempted in Georgia until 1729, when it was brought to the attention of Oglethorpe, who was interested in the condition of the debtor prisons of England.

Oglethorpe had entered the army when very young, and enjoyed a most interesting experience of military life. He had been with Marlborough in the Low Countries, with Peterborough in Italy, and had served with Prince Eugene against the Turks. Returning home, he entered

Parliament, and at the time he became interested in Georgia was thirty-three years old, and had been a member of Parliament seven years.

One of his friends, named Caslett, who was imprisoned for debt, being unable to pay the customary fees to the warder, was forced to lodge in a building infected with the small-pox, where he died. This directed Oglethorpe's attention to the sufferings and horrors of these debtor prisons, and he had a committee of Parliament appointed to investigate them. On the information thus obtained, and in company with Lord Percival and other noblemen, he sent a memorial to the Privy Council asking for a grant of the land lying south of the Savannah River, where he agreed to establish a province for indigent people who had become a burden to the public.

In 1732 the crown gave a charter which was totally unlike any other charter of a colony in America. It did not create the usual government of governor, council, and assembly of the people; nor was it a proprietary charter giving the province to one or more persons for their own profit; but it created what would now be called a charitable trust corporation, making twenty-one noblemen and others "Trustees for establishing the colony of Georgia in America." These trustees were to govern the colony through a common council of fifteen per-

sons, and make laws and ordinances to regulate the people who should go to the province. There was no representative assembly of the people, as in the other colonies, and there was no governor. The unfortunate and destitute, for whose benefit the enterprise was intended, were to be paternally managed by the trustees for twenty-one years, and at the end of that time the crown would establish such form of government as should seem best.

As a compensation for giving the people no political rights, the charter expressly provided that they should have all the other liberties of free-born British subjects. The controlling idea evidently was that, as the settlers would all be people who had failed to take care of themselves in England, they were to be treated as minors for twenty-one years, and after that given such government as their improvement should warrant.

The colony was named Georgia in honor of George II., who had granted the charter, as Carolina had been named after Charles I. Oglethorpe and his illustrious friends opened an office in Old Palace Yard, Westminster, and received many private subscriptions in addition to a grant of ten thousand pounds from Parliament. This money they used to defray the expenses of the government and in transporting

the settlers and supplying them with necessaries and cattle until they were established on the land. They tried to get only the most worthy insolvents and unfortunates; but they also received people of means who went over at their own expense, giving each five hundred acres of land on condition that they carried over one servant for every fifty acres and did military service in time of war. The population, in consequence, consisted of an upper class of large landholders, a middle class of debtors, for whom the colony was founded, and a lower class of indentured servants.

Besides the philanthropic design, the colony was intended as a bulwark to protect South Carolina against the Spaniards. This being the purpose, the presence of a large slave population which could be incited to insurrection by Spanish emissaries must be avoided, and accordingly we find negro slavery absolutely prohibited.

But beneficence and military protection from the Spaniards were not the only objects to be accomplished. The wise and steady Oglethorpe and his friends were as much excited by the glorious prospects of their enterprise as Montgomery by the Margravate of Axilia. It was the old story over again. Some of the best and most illustrious men of England, who thought everything north of Virginia a frozen

desert, had been exalted into wild enthusiasm by the magic touch of the South. Georgia was to be devoted to raising raw silk, wine, oil, dyes, drugs, and many other commodities which England was obliged to purchase at high prices from foreign countries. She was to be the ideal colony; have no manufactures, but furnish enormous supplies of raw material to the manufacturers of the mother country.

"Why, just think," said the enthusiastic trustees, "of the single item of raw silk. England now spends five hundred thousand pounds a year for manufactured silk from Italy, France, Holland, India, and China. But when Georgia supplies the raw silk, almost the whole of that five hundred thousand pounds will go to English silk-weavers. Twenty thousand poor people will be employed in Georgia raising the raw silk, and at least forty thousand more in England weaving it. Nay, it is even probable that the Georgians will furnish the raw silk so cheaply that the silk-weavers in England will be able to undersell all the rest of the world, in which case England will have a monopoly of the silk trade, and the profits will be almost unlimited.

"Wine also can be raised in such quantities that we need no longer go to Madeira for it; and the flax, hemp, and potash of Georgia will reduce the balance of trade with Russia by one

hundred and thirty thousand pounds. The indigo, cochineal, olives, and dyeing woods will have a similar effect on the balance of trade with the countries from which we now obtain those products; and this grand result will be accomplished simply by removing from England a body of indigent paupers and debtors who are now a burden to society, thus relieving the poor-rates and parishes and emptying the prisons."

All this was shown most clearly in that way statistics have of proving everything beyond the possibility of a doubt. It was to be the greatest province of the British empire. "Such an air and soil," says Oglethorpe, "can only be fitly described by a poetical pen, because there is but little danger of exceeding the truth. Take, therefore, part of Mr. Waller's description of an island in the neighborhood of Carolina, to give you an idea of this happy climate:

> "'Ripe fruits and blossoms on the same trees live;
> At once they promise and at once they give;
> So sweet the air, so moderate the clime,
> None sickly lives or dies before his time.
> Heaven sure has kept this spot of earth uncurst,
> To show how all things were created first.'"

The soul of the enterprise was Oglethorpe, who in the benevolent purposes which animated him had probably been influenced by George Berkeley, afterwards the great Bishop Berke-

ley, whom he had known when he was with Lord Peterborough on his diplomatic embassy to Italy. Berkeley, a few years before Oglethorpe's Georgia enterprise, had planned his college for America, and his circular or prospectus for it is interesting to read, because it is another instance showing how the English upper classes were relying on the Southern colonies for the fulfilment of all their ideals.

After the most careful inquiry and consideration, Berkeley had decided to establish his college in the Bermudas, which he explains at length were at that time the centre of the British empire in that part of the world. They were in the track of all vessels to America, and they alone had a trade with all the other colonies. Their people were the most simple and moral and their climate the most genial in the world. That genial climate, which others believed would stimulate trade and commerce to unheard-of proportions, Berkeley relied upon to develop literature and the arts, and from his college were to go forth every year a highly trained clergy, who would convert the negro slaves and Indians to Christianity and forestall the efforts of the French and Spanish to establish the Roman Catholic religion in America.

Europe was worn out and decayed, but in the virgin air and soil of the New World life and

beauty would spring forth anew, and on this prospect he wrote those verses which are as immortal as his discoveries in metaphysics:

"There shall be sung another golden age,
The rise of empire and of arts;
The good and great inspiring epic rage,
The wisest heads and noblest hearts.

"Not such as Europe breeds in her decay;
Such as she bred when fresh and young,
When heavenly flame did animate her clay,
By future poets shall be sung.

"Westward the course of empire takes its way,
The four first acts already past,
A fifth shall close the drama with the day:
Time's noblest offspring is the last."

General Codrington had attempted a similar college in the Barbadoes. Berkeley was more nearly successful, and raised five thousand pounds; but the grant from Parliament of twenty thousand pounds, on which he relied, was never made, and the money he had collected was turned over to Oglethorpe for Georgia.

In 1732, soon after obtaining the charter, Oglethorpe sailed for the province, carrying with him thirty-five families, who had been selected with the greatest care as the most worthy of the throng that applied. At the last moment the trustees examined each family separately in the cabin, to make sure that they

were entirely willing to go, and only one man declined. The Duke of Newcastle sent letters to the governors of all the colonies, urging them to give every assistance in their power to the new enterprise, and the naval commanders on the coast had similar instructions. Encouragement and favor came from all sides,—a strange contrast to the conditions under which some of the Northern colonies were founded.

Noblemen, eminent people of all sorts, and the fashionable society of London were lost in admiration of Oglethorpe. Young, distinguished, cultivated, the delight of every drawing-room and literary gathering in the metropolis, already distinguished as a soldier, and with a great parliamentary career before him, he was going without reward, in a crowded emigrant ship, to conduct thirty-five families of broken debtors to the American wilderness.

In January, 1733, Oglethorpe and his company reached Charleston, where they were received with the greatest consideration and quartered at Beaufort, while Colonel William Bull went with Oglethorpe to select a site for their settlement in Georgia. In their sailing canoe they threaded the sounds and bays until they came to a low bluff covered with pines, where Savannah now stands. This spot was at once selected, a treaty made with the Indians who

occupied it, and the emigrants brought down from Beaufort, supplied with cattle, rice, and everything they needed by the Carolinians, who were delighted with the prospect of this defence between their slaves and the Spaniards.

House-building began, and Oglethorpe worked with his own hands and took his turn standing guard at night. Assistance poured in from South Carolina. Prominent men came down, spending weeks at a time, to give advice, and bringing with them their slaves to work. Mr. Whitaker, we read, sent a hundred head of cattle, Mr. Joseph Bryan brought four sawyers, Mrs. Ann Drayton also four sawyers, Mrs. Hammerton gave a drum, the people of Edisto sent sixteen sheep, the assembly voted two thousand pounds, the people subscribed one thousand pounds, and Mr. Hume sent a silver bowl and spoon as a prize for the first child that should be born.

In the mild climate, and with the soft sea-air blowing through the pines, it was a sort of picnic foundation of a colony, and Oglethorpe must have thoroughly enjoyed it. He was in very much the same position as William Penn when he superintended the building of Philadelphia in the autumn of 1682. But Oglethorpe had the advantage of occasional trips to Charleston, where we find that he was entertained on one occasion by a public dinner, which he returned

by giving a ball and supper to the ladies. Soon after he celebrated the founding of Savannah, naming the streets after the trustees and the benefactors in England, as well as the Draytons, Bryans, and Whitakers of Carolina, and concluding with a feast for all the people.

Oglethorpe also resembled Penn in his judicious treatment of the Indians. At the same time his military training led him to establish Fort Argyle, near the passes by which they had formerly invaded Carolina. He took similar precautions along the coast towards the south as a defence against the Spaniards, and fortified Savannah with palisades and cannon. Everything seemed to flourish under his wise management, he settled differences among the people, and met with the same success that Penn had enjoyed in this respect so long as he maintained a personal supervision of his colony.

New settlers continued to arrive. The trustees in England obtained from Parliament a grant of ten thousand pounds from the sale of lands in the island of St. Christopher, which was part of the money Berkeley had hoped to obtain for his college in the Bermudas. A botanist, aided by subscriptions from the Earl of Derby and the Duke of Richmond, was sent to scour the Madeiras, the West Indies, and South America for suitable plants for Georgia.

Olives, madder, and all kinds of strange plants soon arrived, and Oglethorpe laid out a tract of ten acres for experiments with them. Assisted by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, the trustees sent over some families of Salzburgers, who had roused the sympathies of all Protestants by the persecutions they had suffered in Germany, and they established a settlement in Georgia which they called Ebenezer.

After spending a year and a half with his people, Oglethorpe returned to England like a conqueror, bringing with him ten Indians, who were presented to the trustees and the king, entertained by the nobility, and carried about England as tourists to see the colleges, palaces, and churches. Oglethorpe himself was received by the king with every mark of respect, and at a grand entertainment he told the story of Georgia and its brilliant prospects. All England was stirred with enthusiasm. Four prizes were offered for the best poem on "The Christian Hero;" and the first prize was a gold medal, having on one side the head of Lady Hastings, one of the most liberal of the subscribers, and on the other the head of Oglethorpe, with the motto, "England may challenge the world." Pope expressed the feelings of the people and immortalized the hero in his verse:

"Hail, Oglethorpe! with nobler triumphs crowned
Than ever were in camps or sieges found,
Thy great example shall thro' ages shine,
A fav'rite theme with poet and divine.
People unborn thy merits shall proclaim,
And add new honors to thy deathless name."

Applications poured in upon the trustees from all parts of Europe, and Parliament voted twenty-six thousand pounds to fortify Georgia against the Spaniards and also against the French, who were beginning to encroach from the direction of Louisiana. The examination of the trustees into the character of applicants was so thorough that many were rejected; and others were refused from lack of funds to assist them. In fact, the original plan of emptying the debtor prisons upon Georgia was largely abandoned, because it was found that those who proved themselves worthless in England were not much changed by the voyage to Georgia. The emigrants were now picked bankrupts and men from Scotland and the persecuted Germans on the Continent, and among these were a number of Moravians. Hardihood, religious zeal, and strict morals were the characteristics of a large part of "the great embarkation" which was prepared to return with Oglethorpe.

The care with which these people were provided by the trustees with everything necessary

to start them on careers of prosperity was most extraordinary. Every man was to receive for one year certain allowances which are most minutely described, beginning with "312 lbs. of beef or pork, 104 lbs. of rice," and running through a long list of articles down to "12 quarts of lamp oil, 1 lb. of spun cotton and 12 lbs. of soap." Similar allowances were provided for every woman; children over seven and under twelve received half an allowance, and those over two and under seven, one-third allowance. On the voyage out the people were to have every week four beef days, two pork days, and one fish day. Besides all this, there were allowances of blankets, bolsters, trousers, frocks, shoes, and long lists of the best tools and implements, enough to make one wish he could, even in these modern times, share the bounty of those trustees.

A man-of-war accompanied "the great embarkation" as a consort. Oglethorpe declined to live with the naval officers, and took quarters on one of the emigrant ships, which the historians describe as an heroic sacrifice; but, in view of the beef, pork, and fish days, it could not have been a very great deprivation. On shore he delighted the Scotch Highlanders by dressing in their costume and sleeping on the ground wrapped in a plaid when he could have had

a comfortable bed with fresh linen sheets in a tent.

He immediately exerted himself to fortify the colony against the Spaniards, and laid out elaborate works on those beautiful islands, St. Simon's and Jekyl, which are now the delight of winter tourists and sportsmen. One small island in the neighborhood of these fortifications was called by the Spaniards San Pedro; but one of the Indians who had been in England took from his pocket a handsome gold watch that had been given him by the Duke of Cumberland, and requested that the island should be named after the duke.

And so the happy colonists continued scattering the names of their benefactors and of lord high chancellors, earls, and princes of the blood royal on every new scene that pleased their fancy. A thousand people had been sent out, fifty-seven thousand acres had been granted to settlers, five towns had been established, besides small villages and forts, and all done with the most enlightened judgment of the best and greatest men in England.

But what was the result of all this paternalism, and what, in the end, became of all the selected English, Scotch, Germans, Swiss, Italians, Salzburgers, Moravians, and Portuguese Jews who started with everything in their favor?

Their relations with South Carolina were soon very much strained. The trustees prohibited rum from entering the province, and wherever a cask of it was found it was staved by their officials. This cut off a great deal of trade which the Carolinians had hoped to gain, and they were still further restricted by a regulation which forbade all traffic with the Indians except under license from the trustees. From that time there was a strong undercurrent of ill will among the Carolinians against both Georgia and Oglethorpe.

The colony was soon involved in a most serious conflict with the Spaniards. In fact, the settlement of Georgia, instead of mitigating, increased the hostility of the Spaniards; for they claimed Georgia as part of their province of Florida, though while it lay unoccupied between them and the South Carolinians they had been comparatively quiet. But as the English wanted Georgia, they did well in occupying it, and Oglethorpe was the man for the occasion.

He soon realized that he was in a position of great danger; for the Spanish government was in a state of high irritation, and he learned of preparations at St. Augustine. He was so close to the Spaniards, and Georgia so weak and defenceless, that his little colony might soon be annihilated. He carried on negotiations

with the governor at St. Augustine, and at the same time, with the art he had learned under Prince Eugene, so disposed his troops on several occasions as to give the impression of large numbers, the effect of which, however, was to increase the preparations of Spain. Oglethorpe at once set out for England, where, the situation being soon fully appreciated, he was made General of Georgia, and returned to the province in 1738 with a regiment.

Spanish spies and emissaries were now everywhere, even in the regiment which Oglethorpe had brought with him, and he narrowly escaped with his life. Two mutineers shot at him so close at hand that the powder of one musket burnt his face. The slaves in Carolina were being seduced, and the insurrection among them which has already been described soon took place. A similar danger was threatened from the Indian tribes; but Oglethorpe made a journey among them of nearly three hundred miles, and succeeded in securing their alliance. On October 22, 1739, war was formally declared between England and Spain, and Oglethorpe began it by burning Picolata on the St. John's River and capturing Fort St. Francis.

About the same time the plot of a German Jesuit, Christian Priber, was discovered. He had gone among the Indians in the interest of

France, with the intention of forming a confederacy of Indians, French, Germans, and runaway slaves which could be turned upon the English settlements. With that wonderful skill and unscrupulous subtlety which characterized his order in that age, and which finally led to its abolition for a time even in Roman Catholic countries, he gained a complete ascendency over the Cherokees, crowning the chief as king of the confederacy and giving flattering titles to his warriors. When captured and brought to Georgia, Oglethorpe found that although dressed in deerskins he was a man of ability, polished manners, and the master of Latin, French, Spanish, and English.

His conversation, papers, and a form of govment for his confederacy, which were found upon him, revealed that he intended to shelter criminals and tolerate every crime except murder and idleness. He had numerous agents and assistants and a secret treasurer in Charleston. Marriages were to be dissolved at will, women to be common property, and general licentiousness to be allowed in his government. This was to attract numbers, and, as he explained, was only a means to an end. "We never lose sight of a favorite point," he said, "nor are we bound by the strict rules of morality in the means, when the end we pursue is laudable. If we err, our general is to blame; and we have a merciful God

to pardon us." He died in prison before he could be executed, and in the mean time delighted all who visited him by his talents and accomplishments.

Oglethorpe next planned an elaborate attack on St. Augustine with the regiment he had brought from England, several companies of Highlanders and Indians, and a regiment from South Carolina, under Colonel Vander Deusen. He had altogether nine hundred troops and eleven hundred Indians, and was to be assisted by a fleet of men-of-war. He intended to take the place by assault; but the Spanish galleys prevented the fleet from assisting, and he was compelled to turn his attack into a siege. He bombarded the fort for twenty days, and had nearly starved out the garrison when they were relieved by supplies from Spanish vessels. It was the middle of July, the Indians were tired of the long siege, the white men were sickening in the hot sun, and the fleet, fearing the hurricane season, would remain no longer. The siege was reluctantly abandoned; but the Spaniards lost over four hundred killed and prisoners, while the English loss was only about fifty, and Georgia had a respite from the Spaniards for two years.

At the end of that time they attacked Oglethorpe in his fort at Frederica, on St. Simon's

Island, with an overwhelming force; but an ambuscade of Highlanders and Indians fell on their rear, and Oglethorpe, taking advantage of their confusion, routed them completely. Soon after, by a most ingenious letter sent to a Frenchman who had deserted to the Spaniards, he managed to give them an impression that he was about to receive large reinforcements, and they all fled back to St. Augustine. This ended the struggle, and Georgia and South Carolina were now secured for England.

Oglethorpe had been bitterly attacked for his failure at the siege of St. Augustine, especially by the Carolinians, who attempted to build up the reputation of their own soldier, Vander Deusen, on the ruin of Oglethorpe. But now Oglethorpe was receiving letters of congratulation from all the British colonies, and had become one of the great men of England.

He soon left Georgia, never to return. The struggle with Spain and the siege of St. Augustine had brought him enemies in Georgia as well as in South Carolina, and he was tried by court-martial in England for the failure of the siege, but triumphantly acquitted. He was of an impatient, hasty temper, rather fond of boasting, and with a very keen sense of personal dignity. These faults were continually involving him in difficulties, in spite of his great

merit. He had been in the habit of drawing bills of exchange on the British government for the expenses of his campaigns, and, while most of these were paid, some were not; so that he not only served as governor and general without salary or reward, but was seriously injured in his private fortune by his self-sacrifice.

In 1745, when the Pretender invaded England, Oglethorpe was court-martialled for what was supposed to be a lack of energy in pursuing some of the rebels. He was acquitted, and in time became lieutenant-general of the British army, and afterwards general. He served in Parliament, was the delight of literary men, and the friend of Johnson, Goldsmith, Burke, and Hannah More. He lived to a great age, and could remember when, as a boy, he had shot snipe on what had become Conduit Street in London. He saw the colony he founded become an independent State. In the Revolution he refused to take a part in coercing the Americans; declared that he knew them, and that they could never be subdued; and when John Adams came to London as the ambassador from the United States, Oglethorpe was one of the first to call upon him.

"I have got a new admirer," writes Hannah More in one of her letters, "and we flirt together prodigiously. It is the famous General Oglethorpe, perhaps the most remark-

able man of his time. He is the foster brother of the Pretender, and much above ninety years old. The finest figure you ever saw. He frequently realizes all my ideas of Nestor. His literature is great; his knowledge of the world extensive; and his faculties as bright as ever. . . . He is quite a preux chevalier – heroic, romantic, and full of the old gallantry."

As an encroachment on the Spanish possessions the planting of Georgia was a wise measure, but as a colony it was by no means a success. The war had driven away some of the original settlers and deterred immigrants. Those that remained—an incongruous mixture of several nations—are described as "ignorant of their true interest and cursed with a spirit of dissension." The trustees were unable to make suitable laws for them, and the attempt to administer any laws at all was even a greater failure. While Oglethorpe was present, all authority centred in him, and his vigor and power of command enforced obedience. But he was often absent in England or fighting the Spaniards, and the authority was in Causton, the store-keeper who distributed the supplies which the trustees sent out. By giving or withholding provisions he soon became an arrogant dictator, and absorbed the power of all the other officials. When he was finally dismissed, the petty magistrates who were appointed made still

worse confusion, which the excellent trustees tried to obviate by sending out purple gowns edged with fur for bailiffs and a black tufted one for the recorder.

But nothing could stop the disorder, and we find the magistrates charged with blasphemy, drunkenness, false imprisonment, threatening juries, obstructing the course of the law, and general corruption. The trustees did their best in changing the form of government, but they were really powerless, and could do nothing with the people, who their own historians admit were utterly lacking in unity, morality, industry, and social integrity.

In "the great embarkation" Oglethorpe had brought out with him Charles Wesley and John Wesley, the founders of Methodism. Charles was Oglethorpe's private secretary and chaplain, and John was the missionary for the colony. These young men were then fresh from Oxford, learned in languages, literature, and science, and full of the most ardent enthusiasm. They were clergymen of the Church of England, and had not yet begun that course of thought and conduct which afterwards made them dissenters. The philanthropy and glorious possibilities of Georgia were well calculated to fire their imaginations. The English Church and thousands of the most important religious people

in England were deeply interested in the new province.

There were at different times nine clergymen among the trustees. More than one hundred churches took up collections for the enterprise, and the Archbishop of Canterbury, bishops, and numerous collegiate and parochial clergy gave liberally. We read that one hundred and fifteen Bibles, one hundred and sixteen prayer-books, seventy-two psalters, three hundred and twelve catechisms, fifty six "Gibson's Family Devotions," and four hundred and thirty other religious books were put on board the first ship that carried out the emigrants, and within the next two years over two thousand six hundred Bibles and religious books were sent out. In fact, there were more books of devotion than there were people; and if sincere effort alone could have made a province religious and moral, Georgia would have been the home of saints as well as the source of boundless wealth to England.

The Wesleys remained scarcely two years, and, in spite of their unusual ability, cannot be said to have accomplished anything. But although they made no definite impression on the province, the province made a deep impression on them, and it is probable that they learned there the most important lessons of their lives.

They knew nothing of the world, and from childhood they had associated only with learned and academic people. They could hold services and preach in English, French, German, and Italian, and they were familiar with Hebrew, Arabic, and Spanish. Finding that their letters were often intercepted and opened in Georgia, they corresponded with each other in Greek, and when they feared eavesdropping, they conversed in Latin. They were totally devoid of tact and even common discretion; and, like young men fresh from college in our own time, they intended to reform the whole human race, and they rushed headlong at every evil the moment they saw it. Thrown suddenly into a wilderness, among people of gross immorality and offensive manners, they were taught sharply, but quickly and thoroughly, the one lesson they needed to make their intellect, learning, and eloquence a living and practical force.

One of their first experiences was with two coarse women of soiled virtue who they supposed had repented, and they persuaded Oglethorpe to accept them as respectable. They then attempted to reform the other female colonists and reconcile their feuds. John was soon in love with a designing creature, Sophy Hopkins; but, being warned by his friends and the

Moravians, he broke off his engagement with her, and within eight days she married a man named Williamson. Soon after, John in his straightforward manner rebuked her for something reprehensible in her conduct, and later refused to administer the communion to her.

The whole colony, which was composed largely of the sort of people who are pettily malicious and vindictive, was now arrayed against the two brothers, and they were charged with a long list of offences which it is not necessary to repeat. Charles lost the favor of Oglethorpe, and it was suspected at one time that the people intended to get rid of him by violence. His former friends refused to speak to him, his servants would not work for him, he had to sleep on the ground, and when in a raging fever could scarcely get a bedstead to lie upon. John passed through a similar ordeal, was arrested on trumped-up charges, and finally had difficulty in getting away to England.

Other zealous clergymen had like experiences, and left in disgust. Others remained and accomplished something. Among these was George Whitefield, who took part with the Wesleys in the rise of Methodism. He succeeded in establishing an orphan asylum; but before long he drifted away to his real work of revivalism in all the colonies.

The prohibition of rum and negro slavery was another cause of trouble. The rum was smuggled into the province, there was a great deal of drunkenness, and the demoralization was increased by the evasion of the law and the fruitless efforts to enforce it. A few slaves were also smuggled, and the people were always clamoring for slavery, so that they might compete in prosperity with South Carolina. The raw silk, hemp, wine, olives, and drugs, which were to make Georgia the chief supply of England in these commodities, were not forthcoming, although the trustees tried in every way to compel the people to raise them. They would not cultivate them, and could not be made to see the advantage of it. They wanted to be rice and indigo planters like the Carolinians, with the assistance of slavery; and for fourteen years—from 1735 to 1749—they poured petitions and remonstrances on the trustees and the British Parliament.

Every other British colony, they said, was allowed slaves, and slavery was admitted to be the pillar and support of the British plantation trade in America. But the trustees were inflexible. They wished the colony to be a bulwark against the Spaniards and the Indians. Every slave that was introduced into it would be a weakness, and might be turned into a most

dangerous enemy. They wished the colony to produce wine and silk, which could be cultivated only by the skilled and intelligent labor of white men. They wished the colony to be the refuge of worthy insolvents, and these had not the capital either to purchase or maintain slaves. They wished the colonists to labor with their own hands, assisted only by white indentured servants bound to labor for a term of years. The introduction of negroes would make all manual labor degrading, and encourage the very vice and idleness from which the colonists had been delivered by bringing them to America.

But nearly every one who lived in the province was convinced that without slavery it would continue to be a failure, and would not even have enough white people in it to resist the Spaniards. It had been founded fifteen years, and had hardly fifteen hundred people. There was scarcely a planter who could support his family with his own produce. The climate was so hot and unhealthy that from April to October no white man could work in the fields. The white indentured servants would not work, even if they could. They were refractory, filled with wild ideas of liberty, and near enough to Carolina to feel that manual labor was a degradation. Those who were willing to work were sick such a large part of the year that

they cost more than they were worth. The consequence was that the people largely abandoned the cultivation of the land, and hung about the towns, drunken and dissolute, living from hand to mouth by any occupation they could find and the supplies from the trustees' storehouse. Many had already left the province, and soon all of them would go.

Among the most urgent in favor of slavery was Whitefield. Oglethorpe was not conspicuous in the controversy. He regarded slavery as an evil, and had said that it was "against the Gospel and the fundamental law of England; we refused as trustees to make a law permitting such a horrid crime." But he had a plantation and slaves of his own in South Carolina. The trustees were also interested in one way or another in the slave-trade. Whitefield had in Carolina a slave plantation, from the proceeds of which he supported his orphan asylum in Georgia; and one of his letters on the subject of slavery is one of the most curious and frank confessions of mixed motive that have ever been written:

"As for the lawfulness of keeping slaves I have no doubt. It is plain hot countries cannot be cultivated without negroes. What a flourishing country Georgia might have been had the use of them been permitted years ago! . . . Though it is true they are brought in a wrong

way from their own country and it is a trade not to be approved of, yet as it will be carried on whether we will or not, I should think myself highly favored if I could purchase a good number of them in order to make their lives comfortable, and lay a foundation for breeding up their posterity in the nurture and admonition of the Lord. I had no hand in bringing them into Georgia, though my judgment was for it. . . . It rejoiced my soul to hear that one of my poor negroes in Carolina was made a brother in Christ." (*Tyerman's Life of John Wesley*, vol. ii. p. 132.)

Some of the Scotch Highlanders and the Salzburgers seemed able to work in spite of the climate, and were opposed to the introduction of slaves. A few others who were energetic hired slaves from South Carolina planters, on the understanding that if the law was enforced they would come over and claim their property. The majority of the people, however, continued their petitions, and in 1742 sent over Thomas Stephens to represent them before Parliament. An elaborate investigation by Parliament and the trustees followed, all sides and opinions were heard, and the whole question carefully considered. The restriction on rum was removed, but the request for slavery was denied, and Stephens was ordered to be reprimanded on his knees before the House of Commons for having brought a scandalous petition tending to asperse the characters of the trustees.

The people, however, were not appeased.

During the next few years their indignation was so great as to threaten rebellion or the abandonment of the province, and in 1749 the trustees and Parliament yielded and slavery was allowed.

The next year, 1750, in the hope of introducing some order among the people, the trustees allowed them to have a representative assembly, which, though it could not enact laws, might propose them for enactment by the trustees. But no one could be a member of this assembly unless he had planted a certain number of mulberry-trees to feed the silk-worms.

The people seemed to have been somewhat encouraged and improved by this sham of representative government; but the twenty-one years at the end of which the charter must be surrendered to the crown had almost expired, and the trustees, wearied and disgusted with their labors, surrendered it in 1752, some months before the full completion of the term.

The crown immediately established the ordinary colonial government of governor, governor's council, and assembly of the people, and the effect of this, combined with rum and negro slavery, was soon apparent. The people had what they wanted at last. Plantations were cultivated, vessels came to trade, and Georgia settled down to the development of her natural

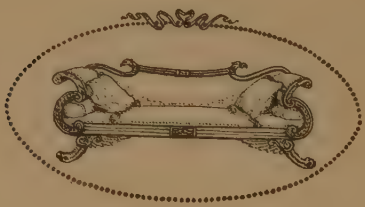
resources, which, like those of Carolina, were pitch, tar, lumber, rice, and deerskins.

The growth, however, was very slow, and Georgia was the smallest of all the colonies. When the trustees surrendered their charter in 1752 there were scarcely five thousand white people in the province. Ten years of royal rule increased the whites only by about a thousand; but as slaves had been allowed since 1749, the total population was about nine thousand. The next ten or fifteen years were more prosperous, and at the outbreak of the Revolution there were about twenty-five thousand whites and twenty thousand negroes. After the Revolution, in 1790, the whole population, white and black, was over eighty thousand.

But throughout the colonial period, and even in the next century, Georgia was a most disorderly commonwealth, filled with such anarchy and confusion that neither government nor justice could be administered. When an attempt was made to hold court, it was found necessary at times to conduct the judges from place to place by an armed guard.

The people near the frontier were generally considered the most lawless on the continent, idle, drunken, wandering about in bands to plunder both Indians and whites; and those in the interior and along the coast were not much

better. In 1784, when there was to be a distribution of land-warrants, the people rushed into the office, seizing the warrants for themselves and carrying them off. The plantations and farms were usually small. Near the coast were some large ones, and some of the planters were men of respectability, leading a life somewhat similar to that of the great planters of Carolina. But the attempt to build up a decent community with English bankrupts and a mixed population was a distinct failure, and almost a century passed before the peculiarities of these people were reduced to a minimum, and Georgia could take a proper position among the States of the Union.



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